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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

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AMERICA'S FIGHT FOR PUBLIC OPINION[1]

It is for me a pleasure and a real honor to be asked by this society to give the annual address. I appreciate this distinction not alone because as a member of the society and of its executive council I am deeply interested in its work, but more distinctly because it gives me an opportunity to talk to an audience interested in history about a type of service which I conceive will have a unique place in the history of the World War. It gives me an opportunity also to say to you, my friends and neighbors, that while doing a part of this national task I have been able to maintain the same standards that I have set for myself both as a member of the history department of the University of Minnesota and as a member of this society. I am pleased not the less that it gives me an opportunity also to say that I have followed your work even during the busy days in Washington and have seen with pleasure that the Minnesota Historical Society has been among the first to begin gathering the records of the war and that it is making its preparations against that day when the history of Minnesota's part in the great struggle must be written.

The thing that has most engaged men's attention and impressed their imaginations in this world-wide conflict has been the massing of armies and the accumulation of war material to an extent hitherto unknown. Their minds have been appalled as they have seen this conflict going on in the air, on the earth, and under the seas, with new instruments and new agencies, military and naval. Most of us, as we have sought to measure the reason for the triumph of the Allies and America, have counted upon these resources and have pointed out that victory came when they far exceeded in quantity those which Germany was able to mobilize or amass. But that does not tell the

[1] An address given at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 20, 1919. Mr. Ford spoke informally. The address as printed is based upon a stenographic report of his remarks.

whole story. Behind the men and the guns, behind the great armies and navies, behind the great munition storehouses and munition factories, there has been waging another and equally important battle. It has been the battle for men's opinions and for the conquest of their convictions. This battle fought in the second lines behind the trenches, in the homes, and in the shops, has been as significant and as important as the bloody engagements which have filled the columns of the press. The thing which was at stake was to make the people in the democratic nations grasp in some way the meaning of this war for them, for they were the base and the support from which proceeded the most essential things which the soldier and the sailor must have; and by these essentials I mean not only the arms to fight with but the conviction that their cause was a just and a righteous one. The thing that had to be built up was the morale of the fighting nations. To do this new instrumentalities, comparable in their way to the new types of armament, were brought into play—the printing press, the platform, the public schools, the advertising columns, the poster, the moving picture, the telegraph, the cable, and the wireless. All these had to be mobilized, directed, and inspired, so that the common man, the hope and support of self-government, felt clearly that the battle line of democracy ran straight from the fields of Flanders to every home and forge and farm. In America this mobilization and inspiration of public opinion, this fight to create and sustain morale and to arouse a patriotism that could be translated into action, whether such action expressed itself in buying bonds or in saving food or in sending our sons directly to the front, was the work of the Committee on Public Information. The committee did not accomplish its task alone, for no agency ever had directly or indirectly the unselfish coöperation of more men or women than did this much misunderstood organization.

In previous wars the United States had seen no similar organization. In the dark days of the Revolution Thomas Paine was a one-man, private committee on public informa-

tion. His *Common Sense* and *The Crisis* were the Red, White, and Blue pamphlets of Washington's day. During the Civil War the education of public opinion was more often the work of private societies. Frequently it was most effectively accomplished by songs, by the spoken word, and by the messages of President Lincoln. If one looked for educational work of an organized kind in the way of pamphlets and publications one could find it only in the private efforts of two patriotic societies, the one with its headquarters in Boston and the other in New York. The same thing might with truth be said of practically every one of the other belligerent countries with the exception of Germany. Here for a generation, through schools and universities, through the press and the pulpit, through organizations interested in colonial expansion, in the building of a greater German navy, and in the increase and equipment of the standing army, both the German government and the great industries which profited by war and imperialism had carried on a concerted program which brought a once idealistic nation to a thorough devotion to the purposes of Prussia and Prussian conquest. For England, France, and Italy the task of informing their people and sustaining their morale was a problem almost as novel as it was for us; each country in its own way worked out a method of solving the problem, at the same time combating the efficient German propaganda being carried on within its borders. For France the task was easier than for any of the other countries, a condition which is easily explained. A Frenchman needed no one to tell him what he was fighting for. He had lived his whole life under the shadow of the German menace; and now the enemy was on the soil of France, her villages were being destroyed, her homes ravaged, her people enslaved, and her industries crushed, by means that no other nation had ever permitted itself even in the name of war. Nevertheless, the French publicists and the French government presented to their people and to the world in privately printed volumes as well as in the official Yellow Book some of the best material on

the background and essential interests of the struggle. Moreover, France had as no other country the benefit of a nationally centralized school system by which the word of the government, whether it were the last official communiqué from the soldiers fighting at the front or the call for new financial support, could be transmitted to every distant village and hamlet through the agency of the schoolmaster. The great mass of the English people, on the other hand, were astounded by the outbreak of the war. To them the issues were less clear and less certain. The first official appeals to public opinion related almost entirely to recruiting, for England was upon the volunteer basis. The history of early English governmental propaganda, aside from the Blue Book, can be followed in the posters with their varying appeals which changed from time to time as an attempt was made to strike a new and responsive chord that would stir every Englishman to take his place in the ranks. Later there was inaugurated a series of publications issued not as a government agency but by the direction of the organization at Wellington House under the chairmanship of Sir Gilbert Parker and, later, of Professor W. Macneile Dixon. The work of this organization was most intelligent and effective, although a great deal of its printed material was prepared primarily for distribution in the neutral countries, chiefly America, where the need of making English purposes clear was felt to be urgent. Many of you undoubtedly profited in the early years of the war by the steady flow of pamphlets and books which came from this source, for the committee had a mailing list of between fifty and sixty thousand names of individuals who were most likely to be active in the formation of public opinion.

When America entered the war she faced, so far as public opinion and lack of organization was concerned, a situation more comparable to that of England than to that of France. We were a nation which for more than two and a half years had been subjected to the opposing lines of argument presented by the Allies upon the one side and even more vigorously and

effectively by the Central Powers through the German propaganda upon the other. Our press and our people could be divided up to the final days into three groups. On the one hand, there was a group, small at the beginning but growing in numbers, very actively favoring the Entente, and supported silently by the disfavor which Germany had drawn upon herself by her conduct in Belgium and northern France. On the other hand, there were the skillful, well-directed pro-German groups, who were financed either by the German embassy in Washington or by the contributions of misguided German-Americans in this country, and who in their activities stopped at no means that would attain their end. Between these two groups stood the great mass of the American people, into whose minds there came only gradually a perception that America was no longer a land of isolation and of freedom from political interest in Europe; that it was not possible for America to remain neutral in this great struggle which had been carried to her very shores, nay into her very homes and workshops, demoralizing her political life and threatening the safety of her workingmen and her industries. When war was declared, it was vital that all mists should be swept away, all doubts resolved, and all purposes united. Fortunately America had on the very threshold of the war an instrument possessed by few of the other countries. It was President Wilson's war message, which, in its elevation of thought, its clarity of purpose, its ringing appeal to the best in American life, gave to us that sense of America's entrance into a great struggle as if it were a crusade in behalf of all the things which she held dear for herself and which she cherished as a common heritage, to be passed on not only to her own children but to all freedom-loving lands.

One week after the declaration of war the president appointed the Committee on Public Information, and I think that as time goes on and as the history of this committee's work is written and its accomplishments are better understood, the executive order of April 14 will be seen as one of the most

perspicacious things that was done in preparation for the struggle. The creation of this committee was largely Mr. Wilson's own conception; and throughout its history it was only through his unfailing support in the way of interest and advice and necessary funds that it was able to carry out the work which had been undertaken. Formally the committee was composed of the secretaries of state, of war, and of the navy, with Mr. George Creel as civilian chairman. The group named can not be said to have functioned as a committee, although there was individual coöperation between Mr. Creel and the departments, and in important things it was reasonably close and effective. More and more as other duties pressed upon the secretaries, Mr. Creel had to assume complete leadership and responsibility, reporting directly to the president.

No other war agency in Washington, be it committee, commission, or board, ever labored under such initial disadvantages and such persistent misunderstanding as did the Committee on Public Information. This was due in large part to the fact that the great public, both through the press and the discussions in Congress, had had firmly implanted in its mind the idea that the organization was a censorship, which in some mysterious way controlled or was to control the press, the cable, and all other means of communication and publicity. This misapprehension was due in large degree to the fact that practically on the morrow of the committee's appointment there was introduced into Congress an amendment to the espionage bill establishing a censorship of the press, thereby bringing newspaper men under the provisions of the same law which had for its object the punishment of traitors and disloyalists. Against this amended bill there was an exceedingly vigorous and finally victorious fight. Unfortunately for the committee, however, it was taken for granted that if the bill passed we were to be its executors; naturally, also, the opponents of the bill found that they could make their arguments more pointed if they could denounce the idea of censorship as embodied in some definite individual. Mr. Creel was there-

fore labeled day in and day out as Censor Creel. When the bill was killed, as it ought to have been killed, there was no one who rejoiced more than Mr. Creel and the men who were to work under him. Neither he nor any of those who had joined his staff approved the bill either in spirit or in form. Personally Mr. Creel was the last man to desire to exercise such a censorship. From the beginning the functions of the Committee on Public Information, as he conceived them, were wholly constructive: to find and to give the truth to the people of this nation; to furnish or to urge the executive departments to furnish all the information that could possibly be given out, consistent with safety, about the movements of troops and ships, war preparations, battles, and naval engagements, with the hope that publishers would have no excuse for filling the columns of their papers with wild rumors or material which would benefit our enemies. This early, unfortunate distortion of the purpose of the committee followed it throughout its activities. Months after we were at work on wholly informational and educational things we would receive letters from authors asking us to censor books or articles before they were given to the press. During the summer of 1918 a considerable number of these communications were received within a few weeks, and I was extremely puzzled to know how this stream of inquiries had started. The question was solved when a colleague of mine, who was teaching that summer in Ann Arbor, sent me a clipping from a Detroit paper, containing a statement copied from a Chicago paper, which in turn had taken it from some obscure sheet in Indiana, that the Committee on Public Information desired to censor every book or article written about the army or navy or the prosecution of the war. I do not know what was in the mind of the Indiana journalist, but I know perfectly well that the Chicago and Detroit papers which reprinted the item knew absolutely that it was false at the time they reproduced it. I may add that of all these inquirers the one who was most insistent on having his

book censored was a writer who had a new religious cult to advocate.

You may be interested in knowing that the only censorship placed upon the American press was an entirely voluntary one: newspapers were asked to coöperate with the war-making departments in keeping essential information away from the enemy powers. The departments of state, of war, and of the navy formulated their requests, and after they were reduced, through Mr. Creel's efforts, to simpler form, allowing greater freedom of information, they were printed and circulated by the committee as an appeal of the departments concerned to the honor of the newspaper men to observe these suggestions of the government. Even these mild admonitions, then, did not originate with the committee but with the departments; we only acted as agents in circulating them. To the credit of the American press it may be added that with a few exceptions these requests were loyally observed. It was usually only by inadvertence that any newspaper in America published information about the movements of troops or ships. Curiously enough it was quite as frequently the social editor who sinned as it was the reporter. The social editor who announced that a wedding of a certain captain was being solemnized because his regiment (name and number given) was sailing at such a time forgot the existence of the line which divides weddings from war. Likewise, the country editor who, like everybody else in the small community, was down at the station to see the boys off and who saw no harm in reporting what everybody knew forgot that a spy could send information to the border for transmission much more easily in published form than by means of the telegraph or the mails.

To avoid a possible misunderstanding it should be mentioned that later in the war a committee on censorship was established to supervise outgoing mails and cables. Its personnel, as defined by congressional enactment, included representatives of the war, the navy, and the post-office departments and of the war trade board and the chairman of the Committee on Public

Information. Any activities of Mr. Creel in this capacity, however, were *ex officio* and were entirely unconnected with his main tasks.

When I turn to describe the work of the committee, there arise in my mind two scenes; and between these two scenes, if they are properly understood, lies the history of the development of the Committee on Public Information. The first was on the occasion of my arrival in Washington in the first month of the war. I found Mr. Creel with a handful of associates struggling to bring order out of chaos and housed, without equipment of desks or typewriters, in one of the old residences which had not been occupied since the days of Andrew Jackson. The house was being overhauled; painters and paperhangers and carpenters were everywhere; and the few habitable rooms were crowded with newspaper men seeking to find out what their status would be if the censorship law passed. Mr. Creel himself was so beset by these and other visitors who were seeking to present their ideas or plans for winning the war that he could hardly turn to the consideration of his chief interest. The second scene was about one year later. I was in Mr. Creel's office and the telephone rang. It was a long distance call from Mr. Rogers, who was in charge of the wireless and cable office of the committee in New York City. I heard of course only Mr. Creel's end of the conversation. It ran something like this: "Is that you, Rogers?" "Are they relaying our material from Paris to Marion in Madrid?" "Is communication open with Cairo yet?" "What do you hear from Murray in Mexico City?" "Is our material being sent down the west coast of South America?" "Have you any later material from Bullard in Russia?" In the few short months that had elapsed between the first scene and this conversation the Committee on Public Information had expanded to a world-wide organization, with its representatives and its service encircling the globe.

It seems essential that I recall to you at this point that the fight for public opinion had to be made not only in the United

States but abroad in every neutral country and even in those countries which were associated with us in the war. This was a tremendous task; and it was in the accomplishment of this task that the committee performed a service about which the public is least informed. When we closed our office last month in Washington we had representatives in Archangel, and offices in Christiana, in Stockholm, and in London. Our largest office was in Paris, our next representative was in Berne. At the head of our mission in Rome, with a staff of forty or fifty men, was Captain Charles E. Merriam, better known as Professor Merriam of the University of Chicago, twice republican candidate for mayor of that city, who did a most intelligent and effective piece of educational work in presenting America and her purposes to the Italian people. The next large office was in Madrid, from which center, by the aid of moving pictures and press work, we sought to combat the German propaganda, which was more highly organized in Spain than in any other of the European countries. Some thousands of German citizens traveling either for pleasure or on business had been marooned there, and each one apparently had found and made a connection with the German embassy in Madrid. The whole country was covered effectively by a network of German spies and propagandists. Our next center was across the Atlantic Ocean in Mexico City, where the difficulties of course were no less than in Spain, for to a higher degree than any other Spanish-American country was Mexico distrustful of its great northern neighbor. When our films were first shown in moving-picture houses, you may be sure that "Pershing's Crusaders" created no great enthusiasm, for Pershing was not a name to conjure with south of the Rio Grande. Quite the contrary; and these earlier Mexican audiences booed and hissed and tore up the benches to show their disapproval. Towards the end of the war, when our great preparations and real adherence to a disinterested policy were proved, our representatives reported that there were faint cheers when the American flag was flashed upon the screen.

We had four centers in South America, two on the east coast at Rio de Janeiro and at Buenos Aires, and two on the west coast. I can not refrain from adding at this point that if we had not been able to put forward the president's words in regard to Mexico and, more important still, his consistent policy as a proof we should never have had a hearing from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn. If America had followed the imperialistic policy urged by the Hearst newspapers and by the *Chicago Tribune* we should not only have entered the war a divided and discredited nation hopelessly frittering away our forces, but we should for all time have written off the books of our friendship and good will every Spanish-American nation.

Crossing the Pacific, we were in touch with our representatives in Harbin and Vladivostok, and these in turn with our representatives four thousand miles inland in Siberia. These men were the group which had originally started in at Petrograd and Moscow. Behind these far-flung outposts there was an efficient cable and wireless service carrying more material than the Associated Press; a weekly press service of material for distribution to the newspapers in the different countries; and an insistent flow of pictures, posters, and pamphlets, and hundreds of thousands of feet of educational film concerning America and American life and American war preparations.

Certain features of this foreign work represented unusual difficulties. One has already been alluded to, namely, that we had to face everywhere an extremely active and efficient German propaganda, which had thousands of dollars to our one and which had been in the field for some three years. Furthermore, these representatives of the Central Powers were utterly unscrupulous in buying and bribing newspapers and speakers and journalists. To combat them we adopted the simple rule of telling the truth. Over and over again I have heard Mr. Creel say to men leaving for the foreign field, "Find out what the Germans are doing and then don't do it." Our method was slower but it was more certain in the end, and wherever it has been followed I am sure it has left an under-

standing of America which will be to the benefit of our nation long after the war. Another difficulty was the fact that America was practically unknown among the great mass of people whom we desired to reach. Any of you who have traveled abroad can easily understand how mistaken their slight knowledge of America may be when it is recalled that they have had to depend upon the newspapers for their information. All of us who have lived abroad have been amazed to find that the news items about America which appeared in the foreign press were concerned with cowboy escapades in the West or lynchings in the South or the absurd divorce proceedings of some millionaire's sons or daughters. We were the land of dollar-hunting Yankees, of great trusts and monopolies. Our democracy was a myth; our real rulers were the corporations. To this misunderstanding of America we had been carelessly indifferent in days of peace. We had said with fine scorn that we did not care what foreign peoples thought of us; but suddenly we were faced during the war with a critical situation in which it was vital for them to believe in the reality and efficiency of American democratic government. What our representatives abroad found as soon as we entered the war was that the German propagandists in Italy and in the neutral countries immediately substituted the name of America for Great Britain. We were a great selfish power, which had stayed out of the war until we thought that our bonds and obligations were in danger, but which, now that Europe was exhausted, was coming in to dictate the terms of peace and to enslave the Allies in bondage to us in order to collect from them the debts which they owed us. We, instead of Great Britain, were now pictured as the power which was to dominate the world and crush the commerce and industries of all the war-exhausted nations. "Why continue longer," asked the German propagandist, "a war which in the end will profit only America?" To meet such a situation one needed to begin almost from the bottom to inculcate and foster a lively and convincing sense of America's unselfish purpose, of the es-

sential service of her government to the great masses of the people through schools, books, libraries, museums, forest reserves, roads, public health, and sanitation; in short, to show them that in America there was a real government not only by the people but for them, and that in this land democracy worked and the citizen obtained value received for the support which he gave in taxes. You will now understand, I think, the type of material which we put into our films and into our press service and into our cable and wireless messages.

It was a picture of the true America, not perfect nor claiming perfection, but the one which Europe must see if she were to coöperate loyally with us in the fight to "make the world safe for democracy." Furthermore, it was of course essential to carry to our associates in the war some idea of the wholeheartedness with which the nation had gone into the war and of the extent to which all other interests had been subordinated to one tremendous effort to equip and drill and dispatch an efficient army of fighting men.

In Russia, which at the time we entered the war had just thrown off the bonds of despotism, our whole effort was to be helpful. From the Kerensky government our representatives received a warm welcome because it needed our assistance in teaching its own citizens what self-government means and what democracy does for a people. To the great mass of the Russians government meant only oppression, not helpfulness and coöperation. The Russian press also was in general uninformed about actualities in America. One editor of a prominent paper in Moscow argued with one of our group about our imperialistic aims because we had annexed Cuba. Besides the use of the films, to which I have already alluded, and of pamphlets and posters, there was distributed to the press of Russia a weekly newsletter containing instructive items about American life and institutions. Several hundred newspapers received this material and used a considerable part of it in their columns. Conditions were entirely changed, however, when the Bolsheviki came into power in November, 1917.

Many of the most ardent among their supporters had returned from America, where they had lived chiefly in the slums of New York; for them America meant only an enlarged East Side. In some cases they have enjoyed advantages in America; as one instance I recall that a Bolshevist leader in Siberia revealed himself as the holder of a master's degree from a large eastern college. In the case of others, the distorted and inaccurate idea of America which they carried back was not wholly their fault. They had come to us with high ideals and great hopes, and no effort had been made on our part to Americanize them or to save them from sinking into sweatshop conditions in which no self-respecting person could acquire a sense of loyalty. Too often in America we have forgotten that we can not expect either our native citizens or the foreign-born element to feel like Americans unless we make it possible for them to live like Americans. One of the committee's chief difficulties under the Bolsheviki régime was due to the suppression of the newspapers which did not support the new government. To this degree our newsletter service was rendered ineffective. In the meantime, however, thousands of private citizens in Russia had asked to be put on our mailing list. From these readers and their friends there came daily to the Moscow office of the committee hundreds of letters asking about American life and institutions; at least one third of the writers were seeking information about American educational institutions. When our able representatives, Messrs. Arthur Bullard and Edgar Sisson and their associates, found it necessary to withdraw from Moscow and Petrograd, they maintained their helpful activities in Siberia. As a result of the many inquiries about educational matters they sent a cable call for an educational expert who might be of assistance in the reorganization of the public schools in Siberia. Last summer I was able to induce Dean William Russell of the University of Iowa to go out to Vladivostok. His story of his conferences and lectures on education and the American school system is one which would hold the attention of an interested

audience for a whole evening. He penetrated four thousand miles into Siberia, as far as Omsk; everywhere people listened to him eagerly, and he found the local officials anxious to discuss their problems of reorganization. When he left, the city school system of Vladivostok had been reorganized with a city superintendent, a school board, and, the unheard-of thing, a special school tax. I can not refrain from mentioning this one result of Dean Russell's work in passing simply because it illustrates what I feel was the intelligent and helpful approach the committee made not only in its work in Russia but elsewhere.

At the head of our New York office, sending out material to the foreign representatives of the committee, was Ernest Poole, the novelist. He and his associates and the writers who helped them may safely file in the archives every "story" they sent out and know that the future student of America's part in the war will have nothing to conceal or condone.

Quite as effective as our attempt to carry America to neutral countries was the plan to bring their representative editors to see America, where they might learn at first hand of its war preparations and its real war purposes. It was the Committee on Public Information that brought to Washington and sent through the country a group of Mexican editors. This mission gave President Wilson an opportunity to say directly to the makers of thought in Mexico what was at the heart of America's attitude toward Mexico and thus to brush away the misunderstandings that had arisen from the imperialistic preachings of certain powerful and selfish newspapers. Nothing that has been done in the relations with Mexico contributed more toward clarifying the situation than this journey of the Mexican editors. The result was shown in the columns of their papers when they returned to their native land. Similar groups of editors were brought from Switzerland and from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, and we may rest assured that as a result of this intelligent effort to make America known

we are better understood in all these countries not only now but for all future time.

Perhaps I have dwelt overlong on the foreign aspects of the committee's work. I have done so largely because it is that part of our service about which the least has been said, and because it represents, it seems to me, a new and an intelligent effort to make the peoples of the world understand each other; an effort which ought to be continued if we are to have community of thought and freedom from misunderstanding in a world which realizes that it has more in common than it has in conflict.

The domestic work, that is, the educational work carried on within the United States, was organized in some twenty or more divisions, under the direct supervision of Mr. Creel in Washington. I can not of course undertake to give at such length a survey of the activities of all these divisions.

The earliest division established was the news division, which, through its representatives in the various war-making divisions and departments, sought to obtain and make available everything that was vital concerning America's participation and preparation. It was hoped that through this division we could secure more information than the military or naval mind is usually willing to divulge and that we might also save the time of hard-pressed government officials who could not be interviewed by fifty or seventy different reporters. The work of this division was always difficult and delicate. It stood between the newspaper press, which clamored for utter revelation, and the military organization, which was inherently hostile to publicity. On the whole the results were commendable. The committee secured and made available thousands of releases; only three were ever questioned as to accuracy, and in only one case was the division shown to be in error and that was largely because it had accepted at its face value the statement of a war-making division which had confused legitimate publicity with press-agent work. It would be a misunderstanding of course if any one were to think that newspaper

men in Washington were limited to the information contained in the releases that were mimeographed and laid out on a table in our press room. These they could use and put on the telegraph wires if they chose. If they sought more information, they could go to our representatives in the various departments and ask further questions. If the person questioned could not answer, he always took the reporter to the responsible naval or military man, who would give or withhold the desired information upon his own responsibility. Every effort of this division, as of the whole committee, was to open and not clog the avenues of information.

Through another division the committee published the daily *Official Bulletin,* which had no elements of a newspaper but was intended as an official chronicle of governmental actions and decisions and a repository of executive orders and departmental decrees. The complete texts of these documents were essential for the direction of all war-making agencies and were of importance to all people doing business with the government upon a war basis. The daily *Bulletin* was distributed gratis to government officials, post offices, and libraries; and it was sent to over seven thousand business houses and individuals who were willing to pay the prohibitive subscription of five dollars a year in order to have the files of the only official government organ. Every other government has had such an official gazette for years; France has published one for the last hundred years, and even Siam issues an official bulletin. With the conclusion of the committee's work the United States will again be without such an official repository of information concerning the government's action, and, unless a newspaper happens to carry the text, there will be no place except by direct inquiry at Washington where the citizen can find out the latest administrative regulations concerning business and demobilization.

Perhaps the most novel and best known division of the committee was that concerned with the organization of the Four-Minute Men, and I may add that for the purposes for which

it was conceived it was one of our most effective agencies. I recall that when late in May, 1917, Mr. Donald M. Ryerson of Chicago came down to Washington with the idea, which he had already applied in some of the Chicago moving-picture theaters, of turning loose a large number of men to talk in the name of the government on behalf of the committee, it seemed exceedingly venturesome. Mr. Creel, however, saw the possibilities of the suggestion and was characteristically ready to make the venture. Mr. Ryerson, Mr. William McCormick Blair also of Chicago, and Mr. William H. Ingersoll of the Ingersoll Watch Company, successively, took charge of this work. At the end of the war there were somewhere between thirty-five and fifty thousand men who were entitled to wear the bronze button of the Four-Minute Men. I can testify as one who saw the work both in Washington and in the field that no more unselfish service was performed than that of the ministers, lawyers, judges, and of the men, also, who had no previous training in public speaking, who labored in season and out of season to help the government put over its various programs. Exceedingly intelligent work was done by this division in the Washington office in the preparation of the bulletins and budget of material and the sample speeches which were placed in the hands of every four-minute man. By this device unity was given to the nation-wide work and real facts were conveyed to audiences literally of millions. The moving-picture men played their part in giving free entry to the representatives of the committee and in turn they were protected from solicitation of the same privileges by other types of interests and organizations.

Less spectacular but equally effective within a more limited field was the speaking division. There was no idea of carrying on at government expense a formal campaign of public addresses. The chief need was to create coöperation and prevent competition on the part of many agencies. The speaking division not only accomplished these objects but it supplemented private and state and local effort by sending through-

out the country distinguished men in Washington and foreigners who came to us from Italy, France, and England. I am glad to be able to say that of all the speakers sent out by the committee under its own direction there was none so effective as the Reverend Paul Perigord of St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul. At the opening of the war he gave up his studies and, not being able to secure a chaplaincy in the French army, he entered the ranks and fought in the French army from the Marne to Verdun, attaining the grade of first lieutenant. With all this wonderful experience behind him, this soldier-priest, with his perfect command of English, his clear grasp of the issues at stake, and his high and idealistic treatment of all he presented, made an appeal that could not be equaled by any other speaker on our platform. I have seen him talk to tens of thousands in audiences such as that in the auditorium at Denver or with even more gripping effect to ten thousand miners at Butte in the open air. At the close of that last meeting a committee of the miners came to him, and said, "Perhaps you think we did not cheer enough, but we are with you, heart and soul, and we could not cheer because our throats were full." Let us hope it will be the good fortune of St. Paul and of the Northwest that Lieutenant Perigord will find again his home among us and aid us as a civilian to realize the high ideals of America and maintain the appreciation of France to which we have been stirred by his words as a warrior.

I can only allude in passing to the satisfaction I feel as I recall what was done in the score of divisions which directed the committee's work. The advertising division secured something like three million dollars' worth of free advertising for the government and prepared the advertisements. This service was really performed by the advertising men of the country and the committee's modest part was to organize them and put them in a way to do that work for which they were eminently fitted. The pictorial art division in its preparation of posters lifted the government out of the hands of private firms who were furnishing drawings and plates of inferior quality. Men

like Charles Dana Gibson, Joseph Pennell, and others gave without return services which no money could have bought.

Our largest commercial venture was the film division, which, with the aid of the signal corps of the army, prepared and distributed through the moving-picture industry, patriotic and educational films on the government's war preparations and war needs. The committee's films, such as "Pershing's Crusaders," "America's Answer," and "Under Four Flags," were shown in thousands of moving-picture houses in this country and abroad. The film division also managed the great war exposition which visualized war and its implements and realities to a quarter of a million in San Francisco, as many more in Los Angeles, and to over two million on the lake front in Chicago. As the division was put upon a business basis, it was enabled to turn back to the government treasury hundreds of thousands of dollars. This money was then available for the non-profitable distribution in this country and abroad of those films which were essential in exemplifying the spirit and character of America's daily life as a democracy.

In its domestic work the committee faced at once, as did every agency of the government, the question of arousing to activity and self-expression the patriotic groups of men among the foreign-born. It was our humble service to have made possible for these thoroughly appreciative Americans who had gained a love for our institutions and who were fired with a desire to do their part in protecting them, an opportunity to become effective agents both in supporting the national cause and in forwarding the work of Americanization. Something like a dozen different foreign language groups, aided by the committee, formed their own organizations, had their own supporters, and their own contact with the foreign language press. The government was therefore able to reach with patriotic messages whole sections of the population which had not as yet the ability to read the English language.

To each one of these divisions and to others that I have not mentioned, such as the service bureau in Washington, the di-

vision of women's work, and the distribution division, could easily be given space equal to what I have given any of the preceding divisions.

In conclusion I should like to speak especially of the division of civic and educational publications with which I was most intimately connected and for which I was the responsible director. I do this not solely because of my own connection with the division but because in its work so much was contributed by men who are known to you as members of the faculty of the University of Minnesota. Through this division there were published some thirty-five pamphlets with a total distribution of over thirty-five million copies. In the case of some single pamphlets the circulation ran as high as six million copies. Many of these publications were translated into foreign languages, both for readers in this country and for use abroad. Our first venture was with the annotation of the president's war message, an idea excellently carried out by Professors William S. Davis, William Anderson, and Cephas D. Allin. It was a venture, and our first printing was only twenty thousand copies. No sooner had the newspapers given publicity to the pamphlet than we were overwhelmed with requests for this and like material. They came from men who were going into the officers' training camps, from their parents at home, from colleges and schools, and from the homes both of the humble and of the well-to-do. The demand for it immediately revealed a whole field of work. The succeeding publications were divided into three series: the *Red, White, and Blue Series,* the *War Information Series,* and the *Loyalty Leaflets.* Possibly the most effective of the *Red, White, and Blue Series* was the *President's Flag Day Address,* which was annotated by Professors Wallace Notestein, Elmer E. Stoll, August C. Krey, and William Anderson, and which received a circulation of over five million. Of all the pamphlets published by the committee, or by any government agency for that matter, throughout the war, the most far-reaching in its effect was the one entitled *Conquest and Kulture: Aims of the Germans in*

Their Own Words (Red, White, and Blue Series, no. 4). Never in the history of the relations of one government to another has such a terrific indictment been put forth under governmental sanction. Through the scholarship and skill of Professors Notestein and Stoll, the German aims and plans were revealed in a way beyond dispute or cavil. *Conquest and Kultur* had a circulation well over one million copies and was published and republished in part in the newspapers thruout the length of the land. Our experience with this as with the other pamphlets clearly showed that the man in the street wanted serious, thoughtful, truthful presentation, and that when he had it he would read it and believe it. It showed also that the common man was doing as much and possibly more thinking about this war than the man who sat behind a glass-covered desk and directed large affairs. Professor Krey was a contributor to *German War Practices (Red, White, and Blue Series,* nos. 6 and 8), and Professor Willis M. West was one of the joint editors of *German Plots and Intrigues (Red, White, and Blue Series,* no. 10). Professor David Swenson aided in the preparation of Swedish translations of some of these pamphlets and to Professor J. M. Thomas I am indebted for calling to my attention the address by Stuart P. Sherman of the University of Illinois, which was published as *American and Allied Ideals (War Information Series,* no. 12). The poems by Dr. Richard Burton of the University of Minnesota and by William C. Edgar, editor of *The Bellman,* are among the most inspiriting in our anthology, *The Battle Line of Democracy (Red, White, and Blue Series,* no. 3). Scores of university men all over the country were contributors to other pamphlets and to the *War Cyclopedia (Red, White, and Blue Series,* no. 7), of which the first edition was exhausted and the second practically ready for the press when I closed my work in Washington. To all the contributors I said very simply and directly that I wanted the pamphlets to be as accurate as scholarship could make them; that I wanted them to be the kind of work which they would not be ashamed to own twenty

years after the war. If you will examine those pamphlets you will find that they follow two lines: first, to present the aims and purposes of America, to make it clear both why America was fighting and what America stood for in the whole struggle; second, to make clear to our own people and to all neutrals the aims and ideals and methods of the enemy we were fighting. We drew chiefly from two lines of evidence that were indisputable: from the words and deeds of the Germans themselves, and from the testimony of our own citizens who had observed or studied them either here or abroad. In the last year of the war we felt so distinctly the necessity of reaching the whole people regularly through some single agency that we turned to the public schools and founded a bi-weekly magazine called *National School Service,* which was sent free of charge to every one of the six hundred thousand public school teachers of the United States. It carried into every school and home the message of every war-making agency and of every national agency which was helpful in any way to win the war—Liberty Loan, War Savings, Red Cross, School Garden, and Food Administration appeals. For the first time in the history of America the voice of the national government was carried directly and regularly into the schools of the whole country. All this material was presented by expert educators in a form adapted for immediate use in every type of school. So valuable was this periodical considered that after the committee ceased its work President Wilson set aside money sufficient to ensure its continued publication under the department of the interior with the same staff which I brought together for its direction. I may be permitted here to pay my tribute to the public school teachers of this country. No group more loyally responded to the call from Washington than did the underpaid and overworked school people of the nation, and their effort was no small part in the unanimity of national feeling.

You may be interested to know that all this work was carried on during the first year at a total cost of a little over

$1,600,000, and that the appropriation for the domestic work given by Congress for the second year was only $1,250,000; that is, we had about one two-hundredth of one per cent of the total war expenditures in order to tell the people what it was all about. I submit that that was not an excessive sum, and that to carry on all the activities which the committee directed on such limited support was a real achievement. It was made possible only because so many gave their aid either without salary or at a compensation less than they had received in civilian life. In this self-forgetting service and sacrifice no one set a higher example than did the chairman. Had Mr. Creel been the "safe and sane" type that certain groups clamored for the committee would have died of inanition. It was far better to have his fighting spirit and leadership, even if it kept us on the front page. That was better than having the committee and its work in the obituary column. Willful misstatement and misinterpretation have had a very long day and a very large public; but Mr. Creel, like the committee with which his name is associated, can safely await the longer perspective and the day of dispassionate understanding for a juster apportionment of praise and blame.

I can not conclude these remarks without an expression of appreciation for the tremendous force and drive which was put behind the war efforts of the nation by its unanimity of spirit. If, in the creation of that unanimity of spirit, that better understanding of our purposes and achievements both in war and peace, the Committee on Public Information contributed any small part, I am well satisfied and well paid with the privilege of having been associated with it. We were, let me repeat, only one of the agencies through which this unanimity was accomplished, but the total result was an America which was invincible, unconquerable, and triumphant.

GUY STANTON FORD

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Spirit Lake Massacre. By THOMAS TEAKLE. (Iowa City, the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918. xii, 336 p.)

Closely allied both in causes and results with Indian disturbances in Minnesota is the Spirit Lake massacre which occurred in northwestern Iowa in 1857. So close to the Minnesota border was the scene of this outrage that many incidents connected with it were enacted upon Minnesota soil and were only too well known to early settlers of the territory. Not only was Springfield (now Jackson, Minnesota) attacked by the same band of marauding Indians on their way north from the Spirit Lake region, but troops stationed at Fort Ridgely were sent in pursuit of the band. Money was also appropriated by the Minnesota territorial legislature for the rescue of the white captives taken during the lake massacres, and Charles E. Flandrau of the Yellow Medicine agency, with the aid of friendly Indians, secured their safe return by the way of Lac qui Parle and St. Paul to friends and relatives in Iowa. Efforts were also made by federal authorities in Minnesota to avenge the massacre, but they met with little success.

Beginning with the most remote causes and concluding with the latest memorial tributes Mr. Teakle has traced in an entertaining manner the complete history of this frontier tragedy. Almost one hundred pages are devoted to the causes and incidents leading up to the massacre. In discussing the more immediate of these the author has taken exception to the commonly accepted theory that Inkpaduta, the leader of the Indian band, was seeking blood revenge for the murder of his brother, Sidominadota, who was killed several years before by Henry Lott, a frontiersman of unenviable reputation. In support of this exception a number of facts have been assembled which seem to justify this new position.

The story of the massacre at the lakes and of the attack on Springfield is followed by accounts of the two relief expeditions dispatched from Fort Dodge and Fort Ridgely as soon as the news of the outrage reached these frontier posts. In succeeding

chapters the author traces the flight of the Indians with their four woman captives across Minnesota to the Big Sioux and James rivers in Dakota. There they were later overtaken by friendly Indians, who succeeded in ransoming two of the captives, the other two having, in the meantime, been brutally murdered. The three concluding chapters are devoted, respectively, to an account of the futile attempts to capture and punish Inkpaduta and his band, to the memorial tributes of Iowa, and to a survey of the changes in the frontiers of both states following the removal of the Indians beyond their borders.

The author has drawn his information from a wide range of original and secondary material, the principal source being the printed narratives of Abigail Gardner, one of the captives. Additional source material on this subject has come to light recently in the Minnesota territorial archives of the governor's office, now in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society. This includes a report of Charles E. Flandrau, dated June 1, 1857, regarding the ransom of the captives, a canceled draft for $3,500 drawn by Governor Medary on the territorial treasury for expenses incurred in their rescue, and letters and papers concerning the alarm of the settlers in southern Minnesota and the pursuit of Inkpaduta and his band.

Mr. Teakle's volume is neatly printed and attractively bound, and is supplied with copious notes and an adequate index. It is lacking, however, in maps and other illustrative material which would add to the lucidity of the narrative. The absence of a bibliography giving critical evaluations of the authorities consulted is also a source of disappointment.

ETHEL B. VIRTUE.

Preliminary Report on the Geology of East Central Minnesota including the Cuyuna Iron-Ore District (Minnesota Geological Survey, *Bulletins*, no. 15). By E. C. HARDER and A. W. JOHNSTON. (Minneapolis, the University of Minnesota, 1918. vi, 178 p. Maps, sections, plates)

Unlike the Vermilion and Mesabi ore ranges of northeastern Minnesota, north of Lake Superior, which rise in prominent ridges and hills along certain stretches, with many rock outcrops,

the Cuyuna district has only low hills, covered generally by glacial and modified drift deposits with no exposures of ore-bearing rock formations. The areas known by strong magnetic attraction to have beds of iron under the drift are comprised within a radius of about sixty-five miles, from near the center of Aitkin County, west-southwest across Crow Wing County to the northwest part of Morrison County and the east edge of Todd County.

Preliminary to the special study of the Cuyuna district, made possible within recent years through the operations of exploring and mining companies, a thorough examination of the major structure of the rock outcrops lying west, south, and east of it has been made, the results of which are reported in pages 15 to 94 of the present study. The latter half of the *Report* is devoted to the Cuyuna district. The first indications of the presence of iron ore in the district were noted during the Northern Pacific Railroad surveys in 1867. It was not until 1890, however, that magnetic surveys were undertaken for the purpose of mapping the area showing the presence of iron. These surveys were conducted by Mr. Cuyler Adams and covered a period of thirteen years. By 1903 Mr. Adams succeeded in locating two lines of maximum magnetic attraction. He at once began drilling into the ore beneath the drift at various points along the southern line and in the following summer exploration work was started.

The history of the rapid development of mining operations in the Cuyuna area is given in pages 96 to 107 of the *Report*. During the first six years of ore production, from 1911 to 1916, twenty-one mines were opened, all in Crow Wing County, the most eastern being near Cuyuna and Deerwood and the most western at Barrows, four miles southwest of Brainerd. From 181,224 tons of ore shipped in 1911 by the Kennedy mine, the annual production gradually increased to 1,802,979 tons in 1916, the total for the six years being reported as 5,116,358 tons. Several of the northeastern mines have iron ores containing from ten to thirty per cent manganese, which imparts to iron and steel made therefrom greatly increased elasticity and hardness. The first shipments of the manganiferous iron ores were 27,300 tons in 1913. With the beginning of the great war in Europe, the supply of manganese ore previously imported to the United States was no longer obtainable, and as a result the manganiferous ore

mined here from 1914 to the end of 1916 amounted to 369,090 tons, being about a fourteenth part of the whole ore production of the district.

A general discussion of the geology of the Cuyuna area followed by detailed studies of the geology of the principal mines completes the *Report*. As its title indicates, the work on this region of the state, which was done jointly by the geological surveys of Minnesota and of the United States, is preliminary in character, the final report being necessarily delayed until further development work shall furnish more complete data than are obtainable at present.

WARREN UPHAM.

South Dakota Historical Collections. Volume 9. Compiled by the State Department of History. (Pierre, Hipple Printing Company, 1918. 616 p. Illustrations)

As is usual in the series to which it belongs, the volume contains the proceedings of the eighth biennial meeting of the State Historical Society of South Dakota, reviews of the "Progress of South Dakota" in 1916 and 1917, including vital and other statistics, and a number of historical papers. Among the latter are several closely connected with Minnesota history. Of especial interest is the abstract of the "Fort Tecumseh and Fort Pierre Journal and Letter Books," for the period from 1830 to 1848, which chronicles the local activities of the American Fur Company at these posts. The abstract was made by Charles E. De Land from the original manuscripts in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society. Annotations for the documents are supplied by Doane Robinson. The probability that Le Sueur penetrated west of the mouth of the Wisconsin River as far as the site of Sioux Falls on the Big Sioux River in 1683 in search of furs is discussed in a second article entitled "The Lesueur Tradition" by Doane Robinson, who was led to a study of the subject by data supplied him in 1883 by Dr. Edward D. Neill, at that time secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society. In "Expeditions into Dakota," C. Stanley Stevenson traces the movements of two exploring parties in South Dakota in 1844 and 1845: the expedition under Captain James Allen, which started from Fort

Des Moines and proceeded "up the Des Moines river and to the sources of the Blue Earth river of the St. Peter's; [and] thence to the waters of the Missouri"; and that commanded by Captain E. V. Sumner, which set out from Fort Atkinson to visit the Sioux on the St. Peter's and the half-breeds of the Red River region. The accounts are based on and include extracts from the official reports which are published in the congressional series of the United States public documents. Mr. Stevenson is also the author of an interesting paper entitled "Buffalo East of the Missouri in South Dakota," reviewing the causes which were operative in the disappearance of wild buffalo from the valleys of the James and Sioux rivers, the coteaux of the Missouri, and the Coteau des Prairies; within the latter region is included southwestern Minnesota. Dr. Stephen S. Walker devotes a part of his article on "The Boundaries of South Dakota" to a consideration of the boundary between that state and Minnesota. Two valuable contributions to the literature of Sioux life and customs are: "Naming the Child," an account of the proceedings and ceremonies of the Rosebud Sioux in naming a son born in 1915 to the superintendent of the agency, previously published in the *Mitchell Daily Republican;* and "Sioux Games," Dr. James R. Walker, giving descriptions of twenty-two games with the rules for playing. Two articles deal with the Sioux War of 1862-65: the first, entitled "Ending the Outbreak," is a history of the treaties negotiated with the Sioux through the efforts of Governor Newton Edmunds of Dakota Territory, based on letters and documents found in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* and the *Reports* of the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs; the second contains extracts from "The Doud Diary," a journal kept by George W. Doud of Company F, Eighth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, which participated in the campaigns against the Sioux in 1862 and 1863. The story of the arrest and killing of Sitting Bull in South Dakota in 1890 and of the connection of William F. Cody (Buffalo Bill) with the affair is told by Major M. F. Steel in "Buffalo Bill's Bluff." The volume closes with a review by Doane Robinson of the explorations of the Missouri River region by the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804, compiled from the journals kept by various members of the party. In his compilation Mr.

Robinson has had the great advantage of having a personal knowledge of the geography and topography of the country traversed.

Typographical errors such as "forbiding" (p. 343), "desribe" (p. 486), and "abscence" (p. 391) occur somewhat frequently throughout the volume; and the employment of the three forms, "Le Sueur," "LeSueur," "Lesueur" (pp. 336, 340, 344), for Le Sueur's name, of the forms "L'Hullier" and "L'Huilier" (pp. 339, 345), instead of the generally accepted L'Huillier for the name of Le Sueur's post on the Blue Earth River, and of the treaty of "Buswick" for Ryswick (p. 343), furnishes illustrations of careless editing and proofreading. The index is inadequate; the entries under the various divisions of the alphabet are not even arranged in their proper alphabetical order.

F. M. P.

The Early History of Grand Forks, North Dakota. By H. V. ARNOLD. (Larimore, North Dakota, H. V. Arnold, 1918. 154 p.)

Mr. Arnold has for several years been writing and publishing studies on the local history of the Red River district. In a pamphlet, brought out in 1900, he discussed the history of Grand Forks County "with special reference to the first ten years of Grand Forks City." The present volume supplements the earlier study. To furnish the requisite historical background the author has wisely devoted the first six chapters to accounts of "all expeditions and journeys of parties of whom we have any record, that in fur trading times, either came near or crossed the site of Grand Forks, or passed by it on Red river." The journal of Captain Alexander Henry supplies a large amount of information upon the establishment of trading posts at Grandes Fourches and other points along the Red River; use has also been made of the journals of the expeditions of Major Long in 1823 and of Captain Pope in 1849. Unfortunately Mr. Arnold has not always had access to the original narratives; he has had to rely largely upon excerpts in various secondary works, so that his quotations are not always entirely correct. A large part of chapter 6 is devoted to accounts of various overland trails and of the beginnings of

steamboat navigation on the Red River. The remaining chapters (7-10) deal with the history of Grand Forks from the date of the erection of the first log cabin in 1868 to 1882.

Since much of the early history of Minnesota is connected with the extension of trade and the inflow of settlers into the Red River district, the book has much of interest for Minnesota readers. It is not, however, free from inaccuracies; for example Jean Nicollet is used for Joseph N. Nicollet (p. 8), and the date August 22 instead of August 17 is given for the beginning of the Sioux outbreak of 1862 (p. 80). Nevertheless the study is distinctly worth while; and it demonstrates some of the possibilities in the field of local history.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK JR.

Letters of Cyrus Foss Chamberlain, a Member of the Lafayette Flying Corps. (Minneapolis, Francis A. and Frances T. Chamberlain, 1918. For private distribution. 118 p. Illustrations)

On June 13, 1917, Cyrus Foss Chamberlain enlisted in the Foreign Legion of the French army as a candidate for the Lafayette Flying Corps. One year later "he fell to his death in combat, having gallantly given fight to a group of enemy fliers, by whom he was hopelessly out-numbered." His parents have published his letters in order that they might "not only tell the story of the thrilling last year of our son's life, but that they may reflect and interpret the personality that was Cyrus." The date of the first letter is March 31, 1917, when Chamberlain first thought of going to France to fight. The succeeding letters, written principally to his mother and father, but occasionally to a friend or another member of the family, describe his experiences in New York and elsewhere, while trying to decide where to enlist, and his life in the training camps and at the front in France. The last fourteen pages contain letters from friends and official communications relating to his death and burial. The letters are very interestingly written and reflect the author's fine qualities of modesty, straightforwardness, cheerfulness under adverse conditions, and unassuming courage. Historically they are valuable for their vivid portrayal of the entire career from enlistment to

final combat of a *pilote de chasse*. They also furnish interesting glimpses of the activities of several of the well-known members of the Lafayette Escadrille, with whom Chamberlain was thrown into intimate contact.

The compilation may well serve as an example for other parents to follow in thus preserving in printed form the records of their sons' experiences in the World War. The only adverse criticism offered is in regard to the total lack of explanatory notes. For the immediate members and friends of the family for whom the book was intended, these may not have been necessary; but as a record for future generations, even within his own family, a few notes here and there would have cleared up several vague points and made the sequence of Chamberlain's activities better understood.

C. E. GRAVES.

Soldiers of the Legion. Trench etched by LEGIONNAIRE BOWE, who is JOHN BOWE of Canby, Minnesota, and CHARLES L. MACGREGOR, collaborator. (Chicago, Peterson Linotyping Company, 1918. 281 p. Illustrations)

The reader of this book is likely to feel that he has before him a series of vivid and disconnected notes on the war as the foreign legion saw it rather than a book on the subject. Mr. Bowe and his collaborator do not pretend that the book is in finished literary form. Their aim is apparently to put before the public matters of popular interest connected with the foreign legion, and in this they have succeeded. There is much material at the end of the book which has no particular bearing upon its title—the discussions of the heroism of the French women, of the opposing theories of government represented in the conflict, of the enemy's atrocities in Belgium and France. More germane to the subject and fresher in interest are the earlier chapters, which contain notes on the history of the foreign legion, the training and life of the legionnaire, and his experiences at the front. "I have tried to make you see war as I know it," writes the author, "war with no footballs, portable bath-tubs, victrolas, nor Red Triangle huts." It is grim reading, yet enlivened by humorous incidents and anecdotes, many of which have real historical value. Of especial in-

terest to Minnesotans is the fact that the writer is a native of Canby, and that among the list of Americans whose exploits are recounted appear the names of Cyrus Chamberlain and Eugene Galliard of Minneapolis, and the fighting priest, Paul Perigord of St. Paul Seminary.

E. H.

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MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Mr. Cyril A. Herrick of the University of Minnesota read an interesting paper on "The Family Trail through American History" at the stated meeting of the executive council on December 9. The annual meeting of the society was held on the evening of January 20. After the usual reports were presented, Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, dean of the graduate school and professor of history in the University of Minnesota, delivered the annual address on "America's Fight for Public Opinion." This was an account of the work of the Committee on Public Information, with which Dr. Ford was connected as chairman of the division of civic and educational coöperation. After the meeting the audience, which numbered about 175, was given an opportunity to make a tour through the entire building.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending January 31, 1919: Joseph H. Armstrong, Edwin J. Bishop, Miss Agnes E. Doherty, Benjamin C. Golling, and James M. McConnell of St. Paul; Miss Madge Ytrehus of Cambridge; and Paul Wallin of Roseau. Deaths among the members during the same period were as follows: Caleb D. Dorr of Minneapolis, November 2; Edgar W. Bass of Bar Harbor, Maine, November 6; Constantine J. McConville of St. Paul, November 15; Edward W. Durant of Stillwater, December 9; and Theodore Roosevelt of Oyster Bay, New York, January 6.

Governor Burnquist has authorized the society to take over for the present some of the older archives of his office which had been stored in pasteboard boxes in a vault in the sub-basement of the Capitol. A beginning has been made in the work of cleaning, pressing, and classifying this material which is invaluable to the student of Minnesota history.

The newspaper collection of the society has again proved its value to the people of the state. In the forest fires of last October the minutes of the Cloquet Board of Education from January,

1917, to October, 1918, were destroyed, as well as the publisher's file of the *Pine Knot,* the town's official paper. The society was able, however, to supply at small cost from its file of the *Pine Knot* photostatic copies of such of the missing records as were published in this paper.

In coöperation with the Minnesota War Records Commission the manuscript division has begun to gather material relating to the World War. During the months of December and January three collections of letters were received. They represent the experiences of a private in the ordnance department, of a divisional Y. M. C. A. secretary who organized a hut system in one of the training camps of France, and of a Y. M. C. A. secretary who was with the American soldiers in the front line trenches at St. Mihiel. It is hoped that there may be added in the near future, before they have a chance to be lost or destroyed, other letters written by men and women of every rank in all branches of service. Housed in the society's new fireproof building, the letters will not only be safely preserved as a memorial, so to speak, of the service of those who wrote them, but they will also in time be available for the use of accredited students and historians of Minnesota's part in the World War. To assemble a really comprehensive and valuable collection, the interest and support of all members and friends of the society will be needed. Such assistance either in the form of donations of letters and diaries in their own possession or of suggestions as to the location of typical and interesting material will be very welcome.

The society has acquired from the Wisconsin Historical Society photostatic copies of nineteen letters, written by Ramsay Crooks, Henry H. Sibley, Henry M. Rice, Hercules Dousman, and Pierre Chouteau and Company, dealing with the Indian fur trade and allied subjects, and covering the period from 1838 to 1848; also copies of six letters from the Tweedy Papers relating to the Minnesota-Wisconsin boundary. The Tweedy Papers were described briefly in the November issue of the BULLETIN (page 580).

A children's history hour conducted in the museum on the second and fourth Saturdays of each month during the school year was inaugurated on December 21. An old-fashioned Christ-

mas tree, a primitive fireside with homemade stockings hanging from the mantel, and a display of early-day Christmas gifts, were effective illustrations of a brief talk on "Pioneer Christmas Days in Minnesota." The subjects for the history hour on January 11 and 25 were "Famous Minnesota Pioneers" and "Minnesota's Historical Flags," respectively. At these two meetings the museum game was played after the talk. In this game the children are given conundrums the solutions of which they can find by examining the exhibits and labels in the museum. After ten minutes of searching they reassemble and compare their answers under the direction of an attendant. The history hour of January 25 was attended by 141 children.

Special exhibits illustrating subjects of current interest are constantly being made in the museum from reserve collections and from new accessions. Since September, fourteen such exhibits have been arranged, including those of ancient coins, historical medals, Minnesota seals, and historical flags, one illustrating Catholic history in Minnesota, and the Thanksgiving and Christmas exhibits. Of especial interest is the one still on display which shows the types of material being collected by the Minnesota War Records Commission.

Teachers in the schools of the Twin Cities have been quick to take advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the museum in its new quarters. From the opening of the school year in September to February 1, twenty-one such classes with a total of four hundred and eighty-five pupils were brought to the Historical Building by their teachers.

GIFTS

From the family of the late General William G. Le Duc the society has received a gift of valuable historical material covering the years from 1838 to 1905. The manuscript collection, though small, is fairly representative of the various activities in which General Le Duc was engaged throughout his long and eventful life. Among the account books may be noted that of his St. Paul stationery store for the years 1850 to 1852; two of his Hastings City and Vermillion mills for the years 1857 to 1859;

and one giving the roll of pewholders of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Paul of 1853. Among the letters are many from persons of note in Minnesota, notably William Windom, Henry H. Sibley, Henry M. Rice, and Bishop H. B. Whipple. Consular reports on the agriculture of Norway and northern Italy, and an account of his tea-growing project, illustrate Le Duc's activities as United States commissioner of agriculture from 1877 to 1881. Among the papers of historical interest are notes of an expedition to Lake Traverse in 1844 to capture a party of Indians who killed a trader named Turner; and a description of a Sioux-Chippewa fight which took place in St. Paul in 1853. The museum items include the uniform worn by General Le Duc during the Civil War; foreign and American Christmas cards; an old-fashioned wool barége gown and feminine costume accessories in use many years ago, such as kerchiefs, neck ribbons, feather fans, and sunshades; and examples of textiles, dating between 1820 and 1860, such as chintz, calico, grenadine, piqué, and marquisette.

Members of the Le Duc family have also placed on deposit in the museum a valuable miscellaneous collection, which contains excellent specimens of early American silverware, pewter, glass, and porcelain, old shawls and dresses, and examples of needlework in the form of quilts, embroidered garments, and handmade laces. General Le Duc's dress sword and sword sash and a portrait of the general on the battlefield with Lookout Mountain in the background have been loaned by his grandson, Lieutenant Augustine V. Gardner.

Through the courtesy of Dr. W. W. Folwell the society has received from Mrs. Frances Pond Titus of Boise, Idaho, two small manuscript volumes containing an account by her grandfather, the Reverend Samuel W. Pond, of experiences as a missionary among the Dakota Indians in Minnesota. The narrative covers the period from 1831 to about 1880. A collection of about four hundred letters written to Pond by early missionaries and pioneers and dating from 1833 to 1891 is being photostated for the society's collection.

Mrs. Iva E. Tutt of Minneapolis has presented a manuscript diary kept by John Kinsley Wood of Goodhue County during the

years 1862 to 1865 while he was a member of Company F of the Sixth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. Mr. Wood participated in Sibley's campaigns against the Indians in 1862 and 1863 and then went south with his regiment in June, 1864. The diary is a valuable supplement to the records of this company kept by its captain, Horace B. Wilson, which are also in the possession of the society.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. George E. Tuttle of Minneapolis the society has received from Mrs. Lycurgus R. Moyer of Montevideo a file of a manuscript periodical entitled "The Spring Lake Clipper" and consisting of seven numbers dating from January 20 to July 27, 1855. Each number, it appears, was carefully written out by the editor and then read at a meeting of a literary society in Spring Lake, Scott County. The file contains not only the literary efforts of the community in both poetry and prose, but also chronicles of weddings, housewarmings, a stabbing affray in Shakopee, the activities of claim-jumpers, and similar local news. It presents a very interesting contemporary picture of pioneer life in Minnesota.

A valuable contribution to the educational history of Minnesota has been received from the state department of education in the form of a record book of the Minnesota Educational Association. The volume contains the minutes of the annual meetings of the association from 1861 to 1892. The original record does not begin until 1867 and omits the years from 1876 to 1882. Through the efforts, however, of Professor Horace Goodhue of Carleton College, president of the association for the year 1891, the minutes for the missing years were gathered from the local newspapers of the towns where the meetings were held, and were inserted, in typewritten form, in the record for 1891.

Through the courtesy of Dr. Albina V. Wilson the society has received from the estate of the late Major Thomas Perry Wilson of St. Paul a military trunk, a powder flask, and spurs for the museum, and a collection of papers, photographs, and miscellany. Among the papers are a large number of manuscript records kept by Major Wilson during the years 1863, 1864, and 1865 in his capacity as first lieutenant and regimental quartermaster of the

Eleventh Louisiana Volunteers of African Descent and of the Forty-ninth United States Colored Infantry, including monthly returns of clothing and camp and garrison equipage received, issued, and transferred; abstracts and vouchers for ordnance and ordnance stores; and special requisitions and lists of articles lost or destroyed. Included among the photographs is one of Major Wilson as commissary sergeant of the Fourth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. Major Wilson became a resident of Minnesota in 1856. He served throughout the Civil War, and after his retirement with the rank of brevet major in 1866, he returned to St. Paul.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. George B. Ware of St. Paul the society has received eleven volumes of manuscript records of missionary societies connected with the St. Paul Presbytery. These volumes contain minutes of meetings, accounts, and reports, dating from 1871 to 1913.

The Minnesota State Library has turned over to the society thirteen volumes of federal census records, consisting of agricultural and special schedules for Minnesota in 1860, 1870, and 1880. These volumes are part of a lot recently distributed among the states by the United States census bureau, and they contain valuable material for students of history and economics.

From Mr. R. C. McGill of St. Paul the society has received a bound volume made up of pamphlets containing addresses by General Lucius F. Hubbard and the tributes offered in his memory at a meeting of the Commandery of the State of Minnesota, Military Order of the Loyal Legion, in St. Paul, April 8, 1913, by Henry A. Castle and Archbishop Ireland. The volume is especially noteworthy in that it contains the autographs of General Hubbard, General Judson W. Bishop, Mr. Castle, and Archbishop Ireland.

In accordance with the wish of her husband, the late Harold L. Hoskinson of Minneapolis, former publisher of the *Progress,* Mrs. Louise A. Hoskinson has presented to the society files of a number of Minneapolis publications, including fourteen volumes of the *Saturday Evening Spectator,* covering the years from 1879

to 1893; nine volumes of the *Progress,* from 1893 to 1901; and three volumes of the *Real Estate Review: Building and Trade Reporter,* from 1884 to 1887. Two volumes of the *Saturday Evening Post* (Grand Rapids, Michigan), covering the years from 1876 to 1879, are also included in the gift.

The society has received from Major E. C. Clemans, the business manager, a complete file of the *Reveille,* a paper published weekly from October, 1917, to October, 1918, by the men of the 136th Infantry (formerly the Second Minnesota), at Camp Cody, New Mexico, and at Camp Dix, New Jersey. The issue of September 14, 1918, contains a brief history of the regiment.

Mr. Charles M. Loring of Minneapolis has presented to the society an excellent portrait of Dr. William W. Folwell. The picture was enlarged by an artist in Detroit from a photograph taken in June, 1911.

Mrs. W. T. Donaldson Sr. of St. Paul has presented a portrait of her husband, the late William Taylor Donaldson Sr. Mr. Donaldson came to St. Paul in 1851 and organized the firm known as Pollock, Donaldson, and Ogden, wholesalers of crockery and glassware, with which he was connected until his withdrawal from active business in 1892.

Mr. Frank H. McManigal of St. Paul has deposited with the society an oil painting of Fort Snelling made about 1847 by Captain Seth Eastman, who was commandant at the fort four times during the period from 1840 to 1848.

The society is indebted to Mr. Edward A. Bromley of Minneapolis for a picture of the old Fuller House of St. Paul, which was built in 1856 and which was destroyed by fire in 1869; and also for a Bible which was presented to the Fuller House in 1857 by the Minnesota Bible Society.

An interesting addition to the historical picture collection in the museum is a picture of the Episcopal Church built in Chanhassen, Carver County, in 1856, and moved in 1867 to Eden Prairie, Hennepin County. The photograph was the gift of Mr. John Cummins of Minneapolis, who also donated a picture of the log house built by himself in Eden Prairie in 1854.

One of the most interesting of the recent acquisitions of the society is the desk used by Alexander Ramsey while he was territorial governor of Minnesota. The desk was purchased from him by the Reverend Benjamin F. Crary, who used it during his term of service as president of Hamline University in Red Wing during the years from 1857 to 1859. From him the desk passed to Edward Eggleston, who came to Minnesota in 1857 and who spent nine years here as a minister of the Methodist Conference. On his removal from the state in 1866 he sold the desk, on which he is said to have written the *Mystery of Metropolisville* and the *Hoosier Schoolmaster,* to the Reverend George W. Richardson, who succeeded him as pastor of the First Methodist Church in Winona. The desk remained in the possession of the Richardson family until November, 1918, when it was presented to the society by the Reverend Mr. Richardson's son, David F. Richardson of Sutherlin, Oregon.

Mr. Cornelius Fockens of St. Paul has donated for the museum a pillow slip made in Holland in 1703 from hand-spun and hand-woven linen, and a quilted cap worn by a Dutch woman about the year 1900.

Mrs. George E. Tuttle has donated for the museum collections an embroidered lambrequin of the year 1880, an ivory fan of the year 1850, a memory book containing old-fashioned friendship cards and valentines, an old sampler bookmark, a postal card of the year 1870, and various pictures of historical interest.

Mr. William H. Brink of St. Paul has donated the level which he used in the construction of the St. Paul Union Depot, the new Capitol, and other buildings in St. Paul and Duluth. The level is an important addition to the society's collection of old surveying instruments.

NEWS AND COMMENT

For a number of years the men in charge of state historical activities in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin have made a practice of getting together occasionally to discuss matters of common interest and to make plans for coöperation. At one of these meetings held in Chicago on December 7, 1918, it was decided to effect an informal organization under the name of Conference of Directors of State Historical Work in the Upper Mississippi Valley. Milo M. Quaife of Wisconsin was elected chairman and Solon J. Buck of Minnesota, secretary. Arrangements were made for continuing the coöperative work of calendaring material in the archives of the national government. The conference also adopted a resolution expressing approval of the plans of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for reproducing historical records for other institutions and for individual scholars by the photostatic process and urging owners of manuscripts or newspaper files to permit them to be so copied.

An interesting movement in the field of agricultural history is the attempt being made in Montana to utilize the county farm bureaus for the collection of historical material and the marking of sites of significance in connection with the beginnings of agriculture in the state. Plans for this work are outlined in a "Report of the Committee on Agricultural History," published in a pamphlet issued by the Montana Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics under the title *A Program of Work for Montana Farm Bureaus* (January 1, 1919). M. L. Wilson, state leader of county agents, Bozeman, is chairman of the committee.

Volume 14 of the *Collections* of the Kansas State Historical Society (1918. 897 p.) consists mainly of the addresses, memorials, and miscellaneous papers accumulated during the last four years.

The history and work of "The State Tax Commission of Minnesota" form the subject of a chapter of about forty pages

in the *The State Tax Commission: A Study of the Development and Results of State Control over the Assessment of Property for Taxation,* by Harley L. Lutz (Cambridge, 1918. 673 p.). The book is issued as volume 17 of the *Harvard Economic Studies.*

The Land Grant of 1862 and the Land-Grant Colleges, by Benjamin F. Andrews, issued as number 13 of the *Bulletins* of the United States Bureau of Education for 1918 (63 p.), treats of the disposition of the grant by the various states, including Minnesota.

Pleasing humor and keen observation are mingled in Meredith Nicholson's *The Valley of Democracy* (New York, 1918. x, 210 p.). The author, himself a native of Indiana, writing from the viewpoint of a sympathetic bystander, gives a cross section of the throbbing life of the Mississippi Valley as contrasted with the conservative East. In the final chapter he pays a tribute to the "gallant company of scholars who have established Middle Western history upon so firm a foundation," and reviews the work of the several state historical societies in the "valley."

Bruce Kinney's *Frontier Missionary Problems; Their Character and Solution* (New York, etc., 1918. 249 p.) is an interesting study of religious affairs in the western states. Of special interest to Minnesota readers is the portion devoted to a consideration of the relationship between the Indians and the whites and of the wrongs perpetrated upon the savages as the frontier of civilization moved westward.

In his autobiography entitled *My Story* (Washington, 1918. 412 p.) General Anson Mills, U. S. A., relates at length the story of General Crook's campaigns of 1875 and 1876 against the Sioux Indians in the territories of Dakota, Wyoming, and Montana (pages 152, 176, 394, 312). General Mills in command of a company of cavalry was in several of the engagements.

A paper on *Les Français dans l'ouest en 1671,* read by Benjamin Sulte at the meeting of the Royal Society of Canada in May, 1918, which will appear in the society's *Transactions,* series 3, volume 12, section 1, has been issued in pamphlet form (Ottawa, 1918. 31 p.). The article is a critical study of the locations and

of the relations one to another of the various Indian tribes of the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi region as they were known to the French in 1671. The material is taken principally from the *Relations* of Fathers Dablon, Allouez, and Marquette, and from the *Mémoire* of Nicolas Perrot, who traveled there in the winter of 1670–71. Of especial interest to Minnesota students is the account of the Nadouessi or Sioux, who were known at this time to be dwelling "on the banks and in the vicinity of the great river called the Mississippi." Pages 13 to 17 are devoted to a description of the ceremonies at Sault de Ste. Marie in June, 1671, when St. Lusson formally took possession of this territory in the name of the French king; and pages 18 to 21 to sketches of the signatories of the *procès-verbal*. Sulte identifies "le sieur Jolliet" as Adrien Jolliet, differing with Justin Winsor and Dr. Thwaites, who are of the opinion that he was the younger brother Louis, whose name is associated with the discovery of the Mississippi.

An article on "The American Occupation of Iowa, 1833 to 1860," by Cardinal Goodwin, in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* will be useful, for purposes of comparison, to students of the early settlement of Minnesota, which took place during this same period.

An "Analysis of the Pacific Railroad Reports," by Pearl Russell, in the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly,* calls attention to the large amount of valuable material in these government documents for the history of the region from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Coast. The analysis is fullest for the reports resulting from the surveys of the northern route under the command of the Honorable Isaac I. Stevens, governor of Washington Territory.

The account of the "Ohio State Library Centennial," in the *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly* for January, contains an appreciative sketch of James W. Taylor, who was the librarian from 1854 to 1856, when he removed to St. Paul. The sketch, which is part of an address by the Honorable Daniel J. Ryan, is accompanied by a picture of Taylor.

"The Great Lakes Waterway as a Civic and National Asset," by Eugene Van Cleef, in the *Journal of Geography* for January, deals briefly with the evolution of commerce on the Great Lakes.

"The Indians of the Great Lakes Region and Their Environment" is the title of a suggestive article by A. E. Parkins in the *Geographical Review* for December.

Numedalslaget i Amerika, a society of the natives of Numedal, Norway, issues an annual publication which reviews the work of the society and "contains biographies and historical records of the Numedøls of America." In its *Aarbok* for 1918 are sketches of Ole O. Enestvedt and the Bergan family of Sacred Heart, of the Holter family of Oak Park, Marshall County, of Charles Nelson of Climax, Polk County, and of the Holm family of Clay County. In a letter to the editor (pages 29–31) Halvor L. Skavlem of Janesville, Wisconsin, calls attention to the historical value of the recently published translations of Ole Rynning's *Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika* in the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN for November, 1917, and of Ole K. Nattestad's *Beskrivelse over en Reise til Nordamerica* in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, 1917.

Articles and notes on the Kensington runestone have appeared from time to time in the issues of *Kvartalskrift,* a quarterly published at Eau Claire, Wisconsin, by the Norske Selskab i Amerika. The most recent of these is "Den Sten paa vort Hjerte," by an anonymous writer, in the only number which appeared in 1918. In this article the story of the stone is retold and arguments are presented in favor of the genuineness of the inscription upon it.

An important contribution to the collection of Minnesota local history studies is the *Souvenir and History of Rochester, Minnesota,* by Mrs. J. R. Willis of Rochester (second edition, 1918. 63 p.). The first thirty-four pages are devoted to pictures of the principal buildings of the city. In a section entitled "Rochester as It Was," following a brief sketch of its settlement, are gathered facts and traditions relating to various buildings and sites of historic interest. The last fifteen pages, describing "Rochester as It Is," contain accounts of the banks, churches, industries, and the various buildings and hospitals connected with the Mayo

Clinic, as well as short biographies of prominent business and professional men.

The first installment of "Colonel Hans Christian Heg: American," by Theodore C. Blegen of Milwaukee, appeared in the January issue of the *North Star* (K. C. Holter Publishing Company, Minneapolis). It is an informing study in Americanization as typified by a man who emigrated to the United States at an early age and who became in his later life one of Wisconsin's most distinguished Norse-born citizens.

Everett Lesher began an interesting series of frontier sketches entitled "Congregational Pioneering in Northern Minnesota" in the December number of *Congregational Minnesota.* The difficulties and problems of the missionaries at work in the logging camps and thinly settled areas near the Canadian boundary are especially noted.

Old settlers of Richfield held a reunion at the Richfield Baptist Church on November 23. Plans were made for the organization of a Richfield historical society.

The Reverend Eben E. Saunders of Fargo, North Dakota, has for several months been contributing to the *Fargo Courier-News* an interesting series of sketches of North Dakota pioneers entitled "North Dakota Builders" and "Those Pioneers." As many of these men emigrated from Minnesota, some material for Minnesota history is given in connection with the biographical notes. Of equal interest is an earlier series of studies in North Dakota local history by the same writer, which under the title "Historical Letters" was published in the *Fargo Forum and Daily Republican,* the first letter appearing in the issue of September 5, 1914.

Four Minnesota counties, Pipestone, Nobles, Marshall, and Cook, were honor counties in the Fourth Liberty Loan distribution contest and are entitled to name a ship in the United States navy. Nobles County has selected the name "Nobles," after a St. Paul pioneer, Colonel William H. Nobles, for whom the county also is named. A brief sketch of the career of Colonel Nobles appeared in the January 19 issue of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press.*

The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for January 26 gives an amusing account of the meeting of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature at Madison during the winter of 1838-39. The part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi River was at this time a part of Crawford County, Wisconsin, and accordingly was represented at the session.

A brief sketch of Louis Kitzman which appeared in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 22 contains information about the killing of his parents, residents of Renville County, by the Sioux on August 18, 1862, and about his release from captivity. A picture of Mr. Kitzman accompanies the article.

The growth of the Thomas B. Walker art collection from a few engravings and chromos which were hung on the walls of his reception room in 1876 to its present size and importance is described by Harriet S. Flagg in the *Minneapolis Journal* of January 5. The collection has recently been presented to the city of Minneapolis.

The story of the death of Decorah, the Winnebago Chief, at the hands of a Chippewa brave, as told by Jim Doville, an old trapper and a cousin of Decorah, living in Wisconsin, just across the Mississippi from Dakota, Minnesota, together with a brief sketch of Doville's life, is published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of November 24.

The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 22 gives a brief sketch of Rising Sun, a Turtle Mountain Chippewa, who died near Dunseith, North Dakota, December 10, at the age of 110 years. Rising Sun was at one time an employee of the American Fur Company and made frequent trips to St. Paul through hostile Sioux country.

War History Activities

Since the United States entered the war a constantly growing number of states have officially recognized the importance of collecting and preserving state and local war records and have in-

augurated state-wide movements for the attainment of that end. In the states of Connecticut, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Maryland, Kentucky, Illinois, Idaho, and California, the work is an integral part of the activities of the state council of defense or corresponding body. In Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, separate commissions have been established under authority of the state councils of defense, while in Ohio a special commission has been appointed by the governor. In Texas, the state university, and in New York, the state library have taken the initiative in their respective fields. Historical commissions and historical societies in a number of states, including South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Illinois, Nebraska, Iowa, and North Dakota, have taken up the work as a natural extension of their normal activities. With but few exceptions the several state agencies have organized the work on a state-wide basis through the appointment of local representatives or committees who coöperate with the state body in building up collections of war history material. Plans and suggestions for a work of this kind have been outlined by a number of the state war records agencies and issued in the form of leaflets and bulletins. Among these may be noted: *California in the War,* by the War History Committee of the California Council of Defense; *Collections and Preservation of the Materials of War History* (*Bulletin of Information Series,* no. 8) and *Shall the Story of Iowa's Part in the War be Preserved?* (*Iowa and War,* January, 1919), by the State Historical Society of Iowa; *The Great War Veterans Association of Mississippi* (*Bulletins,* no. 2) by the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History; *The North Carolina Council of Defense: Historical Committee,* by the body of that name; *What are You Doing to Help Ohio Preserve Her War Records?,* by the Historical Commission of Ohio; *Directions for Organizing War History Committees and Collecting Material* (*Bulletins,* no. 1), by the University of Texas; and a series of three bulletins by the Wisconsin War History Commission entitled *Collect Material for Wisconsin's War History Now, Directions for Organizing War History Committees and Collecting Material,* and *Some Further Suggestions concerning the collection of County War History Material.* An indication of what may be accomplished by war records collecting agencies appears in a re-

port of the chairman of the Historical Commission of Ohio, which was published in the *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly* for October, 1918.

A Statewide Movement for the Collection and Preservation of Minnesota's War Records is the title of number 1 of a series of *Bulletins* inaugurated by the Minnesota War Records Commission (December, 1918. 18 p.). It contains a statement of the character and scope of the commission's plans and is intended primarily for the use of the voluntary auxiliary committees which are being organized in the counties throughout the state. Forty-one such organizations, known generally as county war records committees, are now at work under the direction of the commission. An important function of these local committees is the compilation of individual service records of men from their respective counties. To facilitate this work the commission has prepared and distributed a printed form, which is to be filled out in duplicate, one copy for the local and one for the state collection. A marked indication that the work is meeting with general favor is the fact that in a number of cases the committees have received support from local residents, county boards, and city councils, in amounts ranging from one hundred and fifty to five hundred dollars.

The Minnesota War Records Commission at a meeting on December 20 approved a plan for the preparation and publication of an adequate memorial history of Minnesota in the World War. The legislature will be asked to enact a law for the establishment of the commission and to provide funds for the prosecution of its work.

The history of the 151st United States Field Artillery, formerly the First Minnesota Field Artillery, to the time when this regiment was fighting along the battleline north of the Argonne in France, is sketched in an article which appeared in the *Minneapolis Journal,* November 3, 1918. Individual portraits of 382 members of the regiment accompany the article.

The board of regents of the University of Minnesota recently created the office of war records clerk and appointed Miss Helen Garrigues to the position. Miss Garrigues' work is to collect

material and compile records relating to the war activities of the university and of its individual students and alumni. She will also assemble and classify material of this character already available in the university archives. From this and other sources a card index containing individual records of all university students and alumni in the service, giving the date of enlistment, branch of service, address, date of discharge, casualties, citations, and like information, will be compiled. These card records will be supplemented by photographs, letters, and other pertinent material. A similar compilation is being made for Minnesota teachers and schoolmen in the service by Mr. W. H. Shepard of Minneapolis, secretary of the Minnesota Educational Asociation.

The Minnesota Commission of Public Safety has undertaken, through its county and township representatives, to compile information about all Minnesota men who lost their lives in the service, with the object of sending to the nearest relative of each a handsomely engraved memorial certificate, signed by the governor, as a "token of gratitude and sympathy."

One of the permanent results of the war records movement is likely to be an awakening of interest in matters relating to the whole past history of the state and of its several communities. An indication of this appears in a movement, now in progress in Houston County, to organize a county historical association, the first, but not the only, work of which will be to collect and preserve the records of the county's participation in the late war.

A valuable addition to the printed record of Minnesota's part in the World War appears in the first volume of the *Thirteenth Biennial Report* (373 p.) issued by the state adjutant general for the years 1917 and 1918. The volume contains an extended account of the operation of the selective draft from June, 1917, to September 15, 1918; tabulated statistics of each of the one hundred and twenty-one local, and the five district draft boards; a brief account of the federalization and departure from the state of units of the old National Guard and Naval Militia, together with rosters of the officers and men of these organizations; the history and commissioned personnel of the Home Guard, including the Motor Corps, and of the newly organized National

Guard Infantry regiments; a series of tables showing the brigade strength of the state troops; an account of special services performed by the state military, notably at Tyler and in the fire-swept region of northern Minnesota; general orders issued from the adjutant general's office; and a financial report covering the biennium ending July 31, 1918.

An increasing number of Minnesota newspaper publishers are preparing to issue special editions or separate books descriptive and illustrative of the war services and sacrifices of their several communities. One of the earliest of these résumés of local war activities to appear is a thirty-two-page "Victory Edition" of the *Appleton Press,* issued December 20. The war services of the people of Appleton and its vicinity are summarized in the form of reports on the activities of various local war organizations; tabulated statistics showing more or less specifically the extent and variety of war services performed in the home community by each family, business firm, and organization; and a large number of portraits and biographical sketches of local men and women in the service. The county war history in book form, however, appears to be the consummation toward which most publishers interested in the matter are working. Such volumes are now in course of preparation in Anoka, Pipestone, Renville, and Watonwan counties under the direction of the publishers of the *Anoka Herald,* the *Pipestone Leader,* the *Olivia Times,* and the *St. James Plaindealer,* respectively. The Minnesota War Records Commission recently issued a request that copies of all such publications be sent to the Historical Building, St. Paul, for inclusion in the state war records collection.

In compliance with a request recently made by the Minnesota War Records Commission, Minnesota draft boards have begun sending in duplicate copies of the "Chronicles of the Selective Draft"—stories of the human side of the draft as distinguished from summary statistical reports—which have been recorded by local draft officials at the instance of Provost Marshal General E. H. Crowder. Among interesting Minnesota "Chronicles" which have thus been added to the state war records collection are those received from the local boards of Blue Earth County, Division No. 10, St. Paul, and Division No. 9, Minneapolis.

Through an arrangement with the Western Press Clipping Exchange of Minneapolis, the Minnesota War Records Commission has been receiving hundreds of newspaper clippings of local war-time interest, including many letters from soldiers, which are taken from newspapers from all parts of the state.

Numerous plans are under discussion for the establishment of state and local memorials in honor of Minnesotans who participated in the World War. Suggestions for a state memorial are being received and considered by a body, known as the Minnesota State Memorial Commission, which was appointed by the governor in December to investigate the subject and make recommendations. Among suggestions which have appeared in the press is one advanced by the University of Minnesota Alumni Association for the creation of a beautiful mall, extending north and south on the campus of the university, with a magnificent memorial hall at the northern end, and a stately tower, or campanile, at the southern end of the bank of the Mississippi. A description and sketch of this proposed memorial mall appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* of January 5. Of a distinctly different type is a proposal made in a communication to the *Minneapolis Tribune,* January 6, and to other papers by the Honorable Gideon S. Ives of St. Paul, president of the Minnesota Historical Society, who urges that the state memorial take the form of a comprehensive history of Minnesota in the World War. Local movements looking toward the erection of county and city memorials are reported in a number of newspapers of the state, including the *St. Paul Dispatch,* November 21, December 13, January 11, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* January 9, 21, 25, the *Minneapolis Journal,* November 18, the *Wendell Tribune,* January 10, the *Thief River Falls Times,* January 16, the *Chisholm Tribune-Herald,* January 20, and the *Le Sueur News,* January 23. In most cases the choice of type of memorial appears to lie between some kind of community building and a monument or other more strictly aesthetic memorial. There appears to be a commendable desire on the part of not a few of those interested to proceed with deliberation, knowing that the results of their choice will be permanent and a constant source, either of pride or of regret, to their communities, according as their decision is made with wisdom and good taste, or otherwise.

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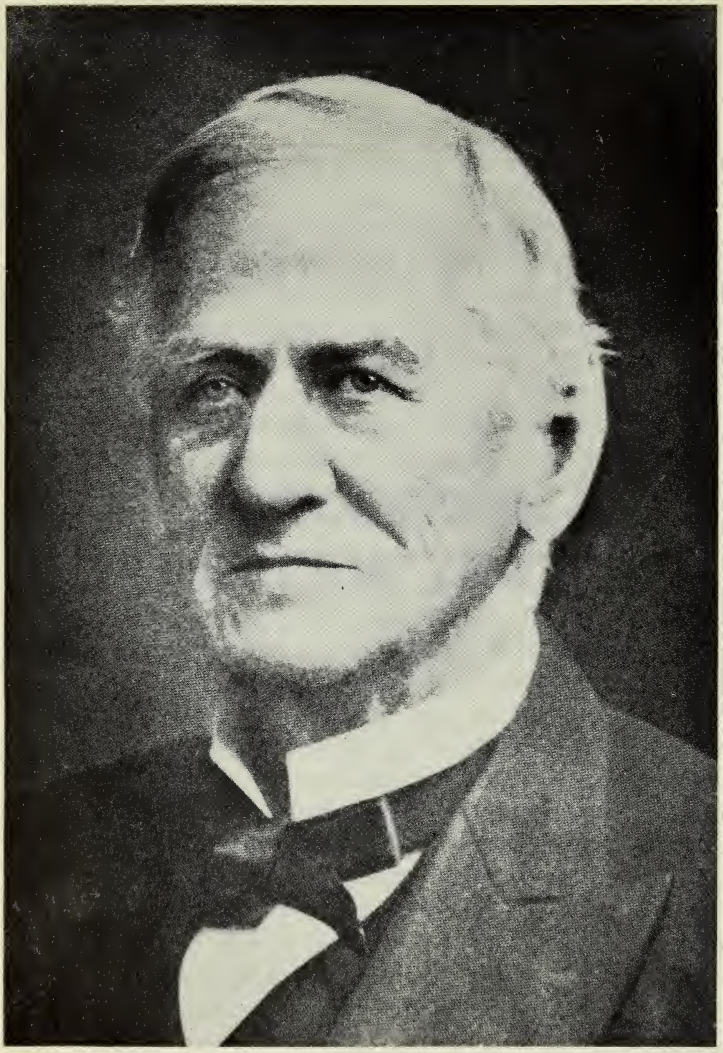

Wm. G. LeDuc

WILLIAM GATES LE DUC[1]

General William Gates Le Duc was, at the time of his death on October 30, 1917, nearly ninety-five years old—a remarkable age; and his was a remarkable and an eventful life, during which he filled many positions of honor and importance in the service of his country and of his fellow men. To a large extent the story of his life is contemporaneous with the history of Minnesota, both as a territory and as a state. Participating actively in its early struggles for existence and for admission to the great family of states, he lived to witness its marvelous development until it became universally recognized as one of the foremost members of the Union. In this great work of development he took an active and prominent part, and in the future annals of the state he will always be classed among its master builders. It is not the purpose of this memorial to do more than to outline the salient features of the life of this distinguished citizen, the detailed history of which must be written later by one who can give to the subject the examination and research its importance demands.

General Le Duc, a grandson of Henri Duc, who, as an officer of the French navy, came to this country under the command of Count D'Estaing during the Revolutionary War, was born in Wilkesville, Ohio, March 29, 1823. He received his early education in the Ohio public schools and at Howe's Academy, Lancaster. Intimate school companions of his were William Tecumseh Sherman of Civil War fame, whom he called Cumph, and Sherman's sister, known as Betty. Le Duc used to relate an amusing incident which occurred during their school days. It seems that at the close of a term, an exhibition was held in which some of the scholars, including Le Duc and William and Betty Sherman, appeared in an old drama—or what at that time was called a dialogue—entitled

[1] A memorial read at the stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, October 14, 1918.

"Pizarro," founded upon events connected with the conquest of Peru. Le Duc took the part of the Spanish soldier, and, to judge from his stature and presence, he must have cut a very fine figure. In fact, he admitted that his appearance upon the stage created quite a sensation, and that, because of the applause and laughter of the audience, he was congratulating himself upon making a great success until he found that the cause of his sudden popularity was a large tag which Betty Sherman had pinned upon the tail of his coat, and which was conspicuously displayed at every turn he made upon the stage.

In 1844 Le Duc entered Kenyon College, from which he graduated in 1848. He then studied law in the office of Columbus Delano of Mount Vernon, and was admitted to the bar in 1849. He came to St. Paul in 1850 when the town was a mere hamlet, comprising a few small houses scattered along the river bank. He commenced at once the practice of law and shortly afterwards opened a bookstore, in connection with which he published a *Minnesota Year Book* for the years 1851, 1852, and 1853. In 1851 he was present at the negotiation and signing of the celebrated treaty with the Sioux at Traverse des Sioux, a very interesting account of which appears in his *Year Book* for 1852. Sixty-three years later he attended the unveiling of the monument erected by the state to commemorate this event, and in the course of an address to the audience assembled on that occasion he gave a vivid description of the Thunder Bird Dance, one of the ceremonial rites of the Sioux.

In 1853 Le Duc erected the first brick building on the south side of Third Street, on what was then called the bluff. It was occupied during the fifties by the *Times* and the *Minnesotian,* and in 1861 the first issues of the *St. Paul Press* were printed within its walls. In pursuance of a resolution of the territorial legislature, approved March 5 of this year, Governor Ramsey appointed Le Duc commissioner for Minnesota to the World's Fair held in New York City. This exposition will be remembered as the one for which the celebrated Crystal

Palace was built. At this time Minnesota was a veritable *terra incognita* to the people of the East, and the work done by the commission was largely influential in turning attention to this part of the country and to the unrivaled opportunities it afforded settlers.[2] Late in this year Le Duc interested several St. Paul men in the construction of a bridge over the Mississippi River, and mainly through his efforts the St. Paul Bridge Company, which built the Wabasha Street bridge, was incorporated by the territorial legislature of 1854. About this same time Le Duc, who had acquired some land on the west side of the river, laid out the town of West St. Paul.

In the latter part of April, 1853, a Sioux-Chippewa fight took place in St. Paul, of which Le Duc was an eye witness. Sixteen Chippewa arrived one evening and concealed themselves in the outskirts of the town, hoping for a chance encounter with some of the Sioux from Little Crow's village, six miles down the river. Early the next morning, according to Le Duc's narrative, they caught sight of a canoe containing three Sioux, a man and two women, coming up stream. As the boat turned toward the Jackson Street landing, the Chippewa hurried down in order to intercept its occupants before they could get ashore. A ravine that cut through the town impeded the progress of the Chippewa and the Sioux were able to reach the trading house of the Minnesota Outfit. As they stepped inside, the Chippewa fired, mortally wounding one of the squaws. Citizens who were in the building immediately locked the door and concealed the other two Sioux in a back room. The disappointed Chippewa turned and fled homeward. Governor Ramsey hastily called together members of the militia for the purpose of pursuing the retreating Indians who had had the audacity to pull off a raid of this character within the limits of the village, in fact at the seat of

[2] General Le Duc's account of the Minnesota display at the Crystal Palace Exhibition appeared in the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, 1:351–368 (August, 1916).

government of the territory. Le Duc gives a very amusing account of the expedition, in which he was a volunteer. It appears that the party followed some sort of trail to a point near White Bear Lake, whence no trace of the Indians could be found. Partly for this reason, but more especially on account of a failure of provisions, liquid and otherwise, the pursuit was abandoned, and the expedition returned in "light marching order."

Soon after establishing his residence in St. Paul, Le Duc, with a number of other prominent citizens, became interested in the future development of the region of which the town was the center. Among other projects they were successful in securing the passage at the 1853 session of the territorial legislature of acts incorporating the Mississippi and Lake Superior Railroad Company and the Louisiana and Minnesota Railroad Company of St. Paul. The former company was authorized to construct a railroad from St. Paul to Lake Superior; the latter, to build from St. Paul south along the west side of the Mississippi River to intersect with the Central Iowa Railroad on the northern border of Iowa. These were among the first railroad companies to be incorporated in the territory.

After 1853 Le Duc's interests became more and more centered in the village of Hastings. Associated with Harrison H. Graham, he erected a flouring mill at the falls of the Vermillion River. In 1856 he became its sole owner and operator, and he was the first miller to manufacture and introduce upon the markets flour made from Minnesota spring wheat. In 1854 he purchased, through Henry H. Sibley, Alexander Faribault's one-fourth interest in the townsite. In 1857, therefore, disposing of his St. Paul holdings, he removed with his family to Hastings, which he made his home until his death. To secure rail connections with outside points, he organized in 1856 the Hastings, Minnesota River, and Red River of the North Railroad Company, which was incorporated by the terri-

torial legislature in 1857. He was president of the company until 1870, and had charge of the building and operation of the first thirty miles of the road, known as the Hastings and Dakota Railroad.

In 1862 Le Duc entered the Union army and was at once appointed to a position in the quartermaster's department, with the rank of captain. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel and at the close of the war was brevetted brigadier general of volunteers. Although he was retained in the quartermaster's department throughout the war, his services were frequently sought in other departments, owing to his wide knowledge and varied experiences in the practical affairs of life. He served first in the Army of the Potomac, rendering efficient aid to General McClellan in the Peninsular campaign, and especially in the retreat incident to the Seven Days' Battles, during which his assistance in building corduroy roads probably saved a considerable portion of the artillery. He remained with the Army of the Potomac until after the Battle of Gettysburg, when he was transferred to the Western Army under General Hooker and participated in the campaign to relieve General Rosecrans' command, which was penned up at Chattanooga. At the beginning of Hooker's forced march to that point Le Duc was placed in charge of the base of supplies at Bridgeport, Alabama. It soon became evident, however, that, owing to the condition of the animals used in the transportation service and to the almost impassable roads, sufficient subsistence to supply the needs of this rapidly advancing force could not possibly be forwarded overland; and that, unless additional means of conveyance were employed, the expedition must either fail or be greatly retarded. Le Duc thereupon conceived the plan of building a steamboat, by the aid of which barges might be used in transporting supplies up the Tennessee River. Because of the lack of building materials and of adequate facilities, however, military men strenuously contended that the project could not be accom-

plished in time to be of any use in the emergency. Notwithstanding these objections Le Duc called together and impressed into service a number of men who had some knowledge of steamboats. Through his wonderful initiative, his inventive genius, and his indomitable energy, in a very short time a boat was actually constructed out of the material at hand and, under his personal supervision, was successfully employed in towing a number of barges up the tortuous stream, bringing to Hooker's army in the time of its greatest need the supplies necessary to ensure its further advance. This boat was afterwards of great service in opening the "cracker line" to the beleaguered forces at Chattanooga.

Le Duc accompanied General Sherman's army to Atlanta and was present at the capture of the city. Immediately prior to his departure on his celebrated march to the sea Sherman found it necessary to destroy a large quantity of public property and a number of buildings in order that the city might not be occupied by the Confederate General Hood after the departure of the Union army. Realizing that the carrying-out of his orders would necessarily involve the destruction of considerable private property, and wishing to mitigate as much as possible the severity of the blow, Sherman placed the matter of the removal of the people affected thereby in Le Duc's hands. Le Duc deplored deeply the necessity for the order, but he conducted the details of the removal with such care and humanity as to gain for himself the lasting respect and gratitude of those who suffered through its operation. Strong evidence of this was shown when Le Duc, a short time before his death, visited Atlanta. On this occasion he was made a guest of honor by the old residents, and many incidents of his thoughtful care and kindness were recalled and commended.

After the performance of the duty to which he was detailed at Atlanta Le Duc was attached to the command of General Thomas, and upon the retreat of the Union army after the Battle of Franklin he rendered important service in repairing

the bridge across the river at that place, over which the army was able to pass in safety. He was chief quartermaster under Thomas during the siege of Nashville by the Confederate army under Hood. Great credit has been given in history to Thomas for not attempting to raise the siege and to attack Hood in his intrenchments until supplies sufficient to ensure the success of such an undertaking had been obtained. Very little has been said, however, of the important and effective work performed by Le Duc in securing the vast amount of needed supplies.

At the close of the war Le Duc returned to his family at Hastings, and resumed active work in the affairs of private life and in promoting the welfare and best interests of the state. In 1877 President Rutherford B. Hayes, who had known Le Duc in the army and who recognized and appreciated the character and quality of his services, appointed him commissioner of agriculture. The duties pertaining to this office he performed with conspicuous energy and ability. He thoroughly reorganized the department and placed it upon a practical basis. The division of forestry was established, and the investigational work which has since grown into the bureau of animal industry was developed and organized—phases of the department's activities which have proved of inestimable value to the country. Le Duc also introduced the culture of tea in several of the southern states and encouraged the manufacture of sugar from beets, an industry of great importance to the country at the present time. As a special compliment to him and as a recognition of his splendid work in this field, he was elected in 1881 a member of the Agricultural Society of France, the only other Americans so honored up to that time being George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Thompson.

General Le Duc left many warm and appreciative friends in this state. Few men have lived who have so stamped the impress of their imperial nature upon the memory of those who

have known them as has this man. His life and his long-continued and important services impress one with what may be accomplished through a disposition to work and through the exercise of energy, zeal, and devotion in the performance of duty to self, family, country, and fellow men. In the positions of trust and responsibility with which he was so frequently honored he stood preëminently untarnished by a single reflection upon his fidelity, his ability, and his exalted manhood. In his *Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota,* written in 1886, Major Thomas M. Newson thus speaks of the subject of this memorial: "A tall, quick, active man, with positive convictions, fertile in expedients, with a restless brain and unbounded energy, are the peculiarities which marked Gen. Le Duc as I saw him in 1853, and even later in life." "I little thought at this time that this same active, bustling, energetic, wide-awake man would be United States Commissioner of Agriculture and stand at the head in Washington of the greatest industry of the nation, and yet such is the fact."

General Le Duc became a member of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1850, and at once actively interested himself in promoting its welfare, shaping its policy, and advancing its standard of usefulness. He assisted largely in securing the real property on Wabasha Street, which proved so valuable financially to this association. He was always an enthusiastic worker in the society, and for many years he served as a member of its executive council. Even in the later years of his life he would come from his home at Hastings to attend meetings of the council, when many of the members residing in St. Paul would fail to be present on account of inclement weather. He attended such a meeting a very short time before his death, when he was suffering from the cold which accelerated that event; it is doubtful if he would have refrained from coming even had he known that the journey might hasten his demise, as he had often expressed the desire to remain in harness to the last, not wishing to live after the period of his

usefulness had expired. He was intensely interested in the location of the Historical Building upon its present site, attending every meeting when the question of a location was brought up and being strenuously opposed to any proposition that in any manner involved the possibility of a location elsewhere.

A record of nearly sixty-eight years as a member of this society is certainly worthy of recognition. In duration of time or in extent of service this record never has been and probably never will be surpassed. It is highly proper, then, that we should respect his memory, recognize his worth, and place his name high among those whom this organization delights to honor.

GIDEON S. IVES

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

THE BIRTH NOTICES OF A STATE[1]

Nathaniel Hawthorne, in his delightful description in *Mosses* of a rainy afternoon's delving among the curiosities of the garret of the old manse stored "with lumber that each generation had left behind it from a period before the Revolution," relates that after looking over many ancient volumes of divinity and theology and in weariness throwing them aside, he turned to a pile of old newspapers and almanacs, which reproduced to his "mental eye the epochs when they had issued from the press with a distinctness that was altogether unaccountable." It was as if he "had found bits of magic looking glass among the books with the images of a vanished century in them." It is with some of these same bits of magic looking-glass that we will take ourselves back for seventy years and endeavor to image something of the life and events uppermost in the minds of a representative portion of the people of New England in the year 1849, at the time when the first steps were being taken to give "l'Etoile du Nord" a place in the new constellation which rose on the fourth of July, 1776. No material will be drawn on other than that found in the columns of our newspaper, the *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette,* published by Butterfield and Hill, every Thursday morning, at Concord, the capital of New Hampshire. Founded in 1809 by Isaac Hill, afterward governor of the state and United States senator, a politician of such ability and influence that he was said to carry the Granite State in his pocket, the *Patriot* was for many years the leading organ of Jacksonian Democracy in New Hampshire.

The file for the year is complete and comes to us just as it was found in the garret of an old farmhouse in Stratham,

[1] Read at the annual meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, February 24, 1919.

New Hampshire, each number being carefully folded.[2] The sheet consists of four pages somewhat larger than those in use at the present time, the first and fourth being chiefly devoted to advertising matter, legal notices, and the proceedings of the state and national legislatures. On the second page lengthy editorials and contributions from subscribers discuss from the Democratic viewpoint the politics of state and nation in the violently partisan spirit of the time; invective and ridicule are employed with a freedom and fluency which sound a little strange to us, such epithets as "liar," "hypocrite," "doughface," and "robber" being passed back and forth in a spirit seemingly of joyous abandon. While much of this must not be taken too seriously, as it was then considered part of the game, yet underneath can be traced something of the bitterness which culminated in the Civil War. The question of slavery had become a party issue. The northern Democrats, jealous of the increasing prestige of the South in national affairs, were opposing its extension into the new territories, but in so far as the wrongs or sufferings of the slaves are concerned, little is said, and the name "abolitionist" is a byword and reproach.

During the early months of the year much space is devoted to the county conventions and the coming spring elections of state and county officials. In one of the January issues the editor apologizes for the omission of some of the miscellaneous reading on the fourth page, which has been crowded out by the great length of the legislative reports, and writes that "for the few weeks now preceding the March election, our space for miscellany may be limited, but after that time we will make up for all past omissions." As election time approaches, all loyal Democrats are charged to look well to the check lists, to see that they contain no names of illegal voters, and to be

[2] The file of the *Patriot* covering the issues from January 4 to December 27, 1849, has been donated to the Minnesota Historical Society by the writer of this article.

on their guard against the tricks of the unscrupulous Whigs, who "are desperate and wicked enough for any fraud upon the ballot-box by which their mercenary ends may be promoted. Therefore we say—*watch them,* WATCH THEM, WATCH THEM."

A proudly crowing rooster at the head of the editorial column for March 15, accompanied by the verse,

> Oh take your time, old Rooster,
> My gallant bird and strong;
> Then clap your wings, old Chapman,
> And crow out loud and long.

proclaims the triumph of Democracy through the state, the only discordant notes in the pæan of victory being the reëlection of Amos Tuck of Exeter, the "mongrel, whig-free soil" candidate for Congress from the first district, and of James Wilson, whose reëlection is a disgrace to the Democrats of the district, from the third.

Far different, however, was the situation in national affairs. General Zachary Taylor had just taken his seat in the White House and, if the statements of our editor are to be accepted unreservedly, was stalking up and down the land after the manner of the head-hunting Igorrote, seeking out, even to the most remote borders of the nation, virtuous and competent Democrats whose official heads he might remove. Week after week under such captions as "The Axe in Motion," "More Spoilsmen Rewarded," and others of like tenor, are long lists of deserving Democrats who had been displaced by Whigs for no reason other than that they had not supported General Taylor, the man who had "no friends to reward and no enemies to punish." Among others we note that Nathaniel Hawthorne, the author, has been removed from the custom-house at Salem, Massachusetts, and even the appointments of some of Minnesota's territorial officials do not escape our editor's biting sarcasm.

In February, 1848, gold had been found at Sutter's Fort, in California. Stories of the discovery had been gradually per-

colating eastward. Letters were beginning to come through, and a few of the hardy Argonauts were returning with fragments of the golden fleece. During the winter months companies and associations for the purpose of going to the gold regions had been forming in nearly every community and had been making preparations for their departure in the spring. G. W. Simmons, proprietor of the celebrated Oak Hall clothing establishment at Boston, advertises California outfits in his "immense stock of spring goods for 1849," among the items enumerated being gold bags at a cost of fifty cents to one dollar, "thin pants adapted to that climate," from fifty cents to two dollars a pair, Bowie knives with belts for pistols, five to six dollars, and fancy soap at three to twelve and a half cents a cake. Articles both serious and humorous for and against going to California appear at intervals, and the advantages and disadvantages of the different routes are discussed at length. A rollicking sketch, entitled "A Few Days in the Diggings," by a "free and independent Yankee," will perhaps tell more vividly the story than will a more sober description: "Off to the diggins with a party; mighty small potatoes most of 'em; all sorts and colors, and everlastin ragged—Bay-statesmen, Backwoodsmen, Buckeyes from Ohio, Hosses from Kentuk, Cape Cod Whalers, St. Francisco Indians, Leperos from Santa Cruz, Texan Volunteers, Philadelphia Quakers, a Latter-Day Saint, six Irish sympathizers, twelve Yankees, as many Britishers, a squad of Deserters, a Blackfoot Guide, a Methodist Parson, and a Mormon Elder. A tarnal nigger tried to join us, but got cow-hided." In the midst of the excitement incident to the early days of the gold fever, little chance had Minnesota, with only a promise of future fortunes from her golden fields of grain, to compete with the golden sands of the modern Ophir.

Although the fervid politics of the time must have provided a certain amount of necessary excitement, other entertainment was occasionally desirable, but overindulgence in amuse-

ments could not have caused a serious drain on grandfather's pocketbook. By going to Boston the "Remarkable Fejee Mermaid" could be seen at the Boston Museum, together with the "Wonders of Nature and Art collected from all the quarters of the Globe" and the "splendid Theatrical Performances, of Tragedies, Comedies, Dramas, Operas, Spectacles, Burlettas, Farces, etc., for the unprecedented small charge of only twenty-five cents." There was no extra charge to see the performance, so if any one of too tender conscience by chance dropped in to view this unique specimen of the female of the species and should inadvertently witness the theatrical performance, he could stifle any uneasy qualms with the thought that all he wanted to see was the mermaid. Another momentous occasion, partaking in those days of the nature of a holiday, was a trip to Manchester to have a daguerreotype taken for one dollar. Those who stayed at home had to be content with an occasional concert or lecture. A brief editorial notice on January 18 announces a concert in a few weeks by Mr. J. C. Dolloff, "the Green Mountain Vocalist," especially recommended because "he repudiates the low and vulgar negro melodies, and selects only pieces of correct and elevated moral tone and pure language." In the issue of April 19 notice is given that Ossian E. Dodge, recently of the "New Branch Hutchinson Family," is to give one of his "popular and fashionable entertainments at the Depot Hall, at 7½ P. M.," tickets twelve and a half cents. There are no more entertainments until well along into June, when a cut, depicting two elephants engaged in a performance that would not be tolerated in a dry county, announces the coming on July 14 of the event dear to the small boy's heart, R. Sands and Company's Hippoferæan Arena, which would enter town preceded by the "Sacred Egyptian Dragon Chariot of Isis and Osiris, drawn by ten Egyptian Camels, containing the full Band," with the "Fairy Carriage, drawn by twenty Liliputian Ponies," bringing up the rear. The admission was twenty-five cents, without distinction of age. If any boy could not get together his twenty-five cents

in time, he had only to wait until August 17 for the coming of Van Amburgh's Menagerie, which, if the boy were not too big, could be seen for half price. The menagerie, after entering town "preceded by the colossal Tuba Rheda or Grecian Carriage, containing Col. Cobb's celebrated Military Band," would proceed to the spacious pavilion erected for the occasion, where the public could witness the thrilling feats of Mr. Van Amburgh in the dens of his wild beasts, "an interesting illustration of the ascendency of mind over matter." The reading of this advertisement recalls the words of an old song:

Van Amburgh snaps his whip,
The band begins to play;
Now all you little boys and girls,
Had better keep away.

Time will not permit of extended consideration of the advertisements, which then, as now, were a conspicuous feature, in themselves furnishing material enough for an interesting paper. One class of advertising, occupying as it did many columns of space, was becoming a source of no small revenue to the newspapers of the day. The years of the late forties witnessed the rapid rise of the patent medicine business, the Sarsaparilla war being at its height in the year 1849. Nearly every week we are greeted by the hearty, rough and ready countenance of old Dr. Jacob Townsend, which must have been as familiar in our grandfather's day, as was a few years since the serene face of Lydia Pinkham. Dr. Jacob announces himself as the discoverer of the "Genuine Original Townsend Sarsaparilla," and specially warns the public against having anything to do with the "sour, fermenting, bottle-bursting" preparation put up by an ignorant railroad and canal laborer by the name of S. P. Townsend, and states that he, Dr. Jacob, was making sarsaparilla before said S. P. Townsend was born. In an adjoining column S. P. Townsend denounces our worthy doctor as a quack and an old fraud, asserting that he had been hired at seven dollars a week for the use of his name by unscrupulous parties in order that they might reap

some of the benefits from the two hundred thousand dollars which had been spent in giving the only original and genuine S. P. Townsend's Sarsaparilla "a character and reputation throughout the United States and the greater part of the world." Evidently the sarsaparilla market was good, for in June a rival appears in the form of Sands' Sarsaparilla, put up in quart bottles, the advertisement being accompanied by a cut of a quart bottle, life size. Abstaining from the unseemly mud-flinging of the Townsends, the Sands concern devotes its space to the reproduction of lengthy testimonials from grateful individuals who had been snatched from the verge of the grave by timely and frequent use of this particular beverage. In another part of the paper Corbett's Shaker Sarsaparilla, which for many years enjoyed considerable local reputation, more modestly states its virtues.

As one by one we have been turning over our bits of magic looking-glass, visualizing pictures of the life of nearly three quarters of a century ago, the first glimpse we have of the new star is on January 25. In the miscellaneous reading on the fourth page of this issue is the following extract from the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*: "Minesota.—This is the euphonious name given to an extensive region lying north of Wisconsin and Iowa, in which, as western papers advise us, incipient steps have been taken towards the formation of a Territorial Government. Several promising settlements have already been made within the bounds of the new Territory. The soil, for the most part, is represented to be very good, the country is finely watered and timbered, and the climate is milder and more congenial than the corresponding latitude in New England. We well remember—it was but a few years ago—when flour, pork and potatoes were sent from this port for the supply of the few families settled where now is the beautiful and flourishing city of Milwaukie. . . . In a few years more, Minesota, whose name sounds so strangely, will be knocking for admission into the Union as a sovereign state."

In the congressional proceedings reported in the March 1 issue, we read that in the House, on February 22, "Mr. Sibley, delegate from Wisconsin,[3] moved to suspend the rules for the committee of the whole to be discharged from the consideration of the Minesota territorial bill," and it was agreed that the bill should take effect March 10. In the following issue the Minnesota government bill is reported as having been taken up by the House on March 2; while the members were engaged upon it, a message was received from the Senate, asking a conference on the House amendments to the general appropriation bill, which was agreed to, and the House then adjourned. The following day witnessed scenes of wild confusion in both branches of Congress. In the Senate, during the debate on the appropriation bill, Mr. Foote struck Mr. Cameron, while in the House, Ficklin of Illinois was knocked down by Johnson of Arkansas and carried out of the hall. Both houses adjourned *sine die* well after daylight Sunday morning. The final passage of the Minnesota bill is not reported by our editor.

For the next few weeks local politics excludes much other matter, and not until March 29 is there again mention of Minnesota, this time in an extract from the *New York Journal of Commerce:* "Minesota.—The act organizing this new Territory, bounds it on the north by the British possessions, east by the State of Wisconsin and the Mississippi River, south by Iowa, and west by the Missouri and Whitearth rivers." The general provisions of the act are outlined. "The governor's salary is fixed at $1500, but he receives $1000 additional as superintendent of Indian affairs. The salary of the secretary and of each of the judges is $1800. The legislature is to hold its first session at St. Paul." Our editor somewhat tes-

[3] By Wisconsin is here meant that part of the original Territory of Wisconsin included between the St. Croix and the Mississippi rivers which was cut off by the admission of Wisconsin as a state, May 29, 1848. Henry H. Sibley's right to his seat as a delegate from this section was recognized by Congress, January 15, 1849. William W. Folwell, *Minnesota, the North Star State,* 88 (Boston, 1908).

tily adds: "The officers for this new Territory have been appointed and confirmed by the Senate, as follows: For Governor, Ex-Gov. Pennington[4] of New Jersey, commonly called 'Broad Seal' Pennington, from his participation in the New Jersey election fraud in 1838; for Judges, Aaron Goodrich[5] of Tennessee, Chief Justice, David Cooper[6] of Penn., and Benj. B. Meeker[7] of Kentucky, Associates; for Secretary, Charles K. Smith[8] of Ohio; Henry L. Moss,[9] U. S. Attorney, and Joshua L. Taylor, [10] Marshall, both living in the territory. It

[4] William S. Pennington, governor of New Jersey from 1837 to 1843, was practicing law in Newark at the time the Minnesota governorship was offered him. The Senate confirmed the nomination on March 22, having refused three days before to consent to the appointment of Edward G. McGuaghey of Indiana, who was President Taylor's first choice. Pennington declined to serve; whereupon the president on April 2 issued a recess commission to Alexander Ramsey of Pennsylvania. The Senate confirmed the appointment on January 9, 1850. *Senate Executive Journals,* 8: 84, 90, 93, 94, 98, 117.

[5] Aaron Goodrich was a native of New York, but was appointed from Tennessee, where he had passed the greater part of his life. He became a permanent resident of St. Paul and took a prominent part in the organization of the state and in revising the laws and code of practice. J. Fletcher Williams, *History of the City of Saint Paul,* 219 (*Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 4); Warren Upham and Mrs. Rose B. Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies,* 264 (*Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 14).

[6] Judge Cooper retired from the bench in 1853, but he continued to practice law in St. Paul until his removal to Nevada in 1864. Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies,* 141.

[7] The correct name is Bradley B. Meeker. Judge Meeker was assigned to the second judicial district and took up his residence at St. Anthony. After leaving the bench in 1853, he engaged in the real estate business. Meeker County is named for him. Holcombe, in *Minnesota in Three Centuries,* 2:428 (New York, 1908); Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies,* 501.

[8] Charles K. Smith resigned the secretaryship in 1851 and returned to Ohio. Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies,* 714.

[9] Henry L. Moss, a native of New York, who settled in Stillwater in 1848, served as district attorney until 1853. He held the same office a second time from 1863 to 1868, after which he engaged in the insurance and real estate business in St. Paul. Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies,* 529.

[10] Joshua L. Taylor, who came to Minnesota from Illinois in 1840 and settled at Taylor's Falls, declined the appointment, and Colonel Alexander

will be remarked that *two* of the three judges are from slave States; so the judiciary is in the hands of the slave power, and thus slavery may be protected there in open violation of the express prohibition contained in the law creating the government of the Territory."

The term, "Broad Seal" Pennington, had its origin some ten years before, in the closely contested congressional election of 1838 in New Jersey. Six congressmen were to be chosen by a general ticket. Five of the successful Whig candidates were elected by very small margins, the votes of two townships being thrown out on account of irregularities. The Democratic candidates contested the election, claiming that they had received a majority of the total vote cast. It became necessary therefore for Governor Pennington and the council to canvass the votes and decide who were the properly elected representatives. The governor, arbitrarily ruling that no legal election had been held in the townships in question, affixed the broad seal of the state to the credentials of the Whig candidates. When the Twenty-sixth Congress assembled, it developed that the membership of the House was about equally divided between the Whigs and the Democrats; the question of the validity of the election of the New Jersey congressmen was therefore vital. After nearly two weeks of stormy debates a resolution was adopted that only members whose seats were uncontested could participate in the election of a speaker and in the organization of the House. This resulted in the choice of a Democrat for speaker and, later, in the seating of the Democratic candidates from New Jersey.

In the April 5 issue of the *Patriot* it is tersely noted that "'Broad Seal' Pennington, lately appointed Governor of Minesota Territory, has declined to accept the office," and with evident pleasure the editor writes: "The federal papers are making Jacks of themselves by extolling the character and

M. Mitchell of Cincinnati was named in his place. Colonel Mitchell resigned in 1851 and two years later removed to Missouri. Williams, *St. Paul,* 221; Holcombe, in *Minnesota in Three Centuries,* 2:427.

qualifications of 'E. B. Washburne,[11] Esq. of Galena, Illinois, the newly appointed Judge of Minesota Territory.' The newly appointed Judges of that territory are Aaron Goodrich, of Tennessee; David Cooper, of Penn.; and B. B. Meeker, of Kentucky, according to the *National Inteiligencer.* It is probable that Mr. Washburne wanted to be one of the Judges, and that these *puffs* were prepared beforehand in expectation that he would be appointed." A week passes and in a rather obscurely placed paragraph it is stated that "Alexander Ramsey, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, has been appointed Governor of Minesota Territory."

During the spring and early summer months notices of Minnesota become more frequent, but apparently no adventurers had returned to New Hampshire from the far-away borders of the new territory, for most of the news is secondhand with brief comments by the editor. We read on April 19 that "the seat of government for the territory of Minesota is St. Paul's," and that "W. W. Wyman has issued a prospectus for a newspaper there." A week later the politics of the new administration intrudes itself: "Some of the Kentucky federal papers are indignant at the appointment of a Mr. Meeker of that State to the office of Judge of Minesota Territory. Some of them don't know who he is, and others declare that it is an appointment *'not fit to be made,'* as Webster said of Taylor's nomination. The general impression there appears to be that Gen. Taylor was imposed upon in the matter, as Meeker has neither the legal, mental or moral qualifications for the office, according to the Kentucky federal papers. So little known was he that when Mr. Morehead[12] was asked about

[11] Elihu B. Washburne, who was a brother of William D. Washburn, a prominent miller of Minneapolis and United States senator from 1889 to 1895, was a practicing attorney in Galena, Illinois, in 1849. He was a representative from Illinois in Congress from 1853 to 1869 and minister to France from 1869 to 1877.

[12] Probably Charles S. Morehead, who was a representative in Congress from Kentucky from 1847 to 1851.

him, he replied that he knew no such man; and it is said that nobody in Kentucky asked for his appointment. Then how happened it that he got the office? *He is Truman Smith's*[13] *nephew!* This appears to have been the sole reason for his appointment. This is truly 'the era of new men.'"

The first general account of the new territory, taken from the *Iowa State Gazette,* appears in the issue of May 3. After describing the boundaries, the writer says: "The population is at present very limited, and is almost entirely confined to the eastern bank of the Mississippi and the north bank of the St. Croix. The town of St. Pauls on the former, five miles below St. Peters, contains some four or five hundred inhabitants; and Stillwater, on the St. Croix, is somewhat larger. These, we believe, are the only villages worth naming in Minnesota. The principal settlement is on the St. Croix, a stream possessing great hydraulic advantages, and the banks of which are covered with inexhaustible supplies of pine. A large number of mills are in active operation at various points, running several hundred saws, and giving employment to probaly one half of the entire population of the Territory.[14] Indeed we are led to believe, from reliable information, that the country lying between the Mississippi and Lake Superior is chiefly valuable for its lumber, and, it may be, mineral resources. For farming purposes it is of but little value, being full of swamps, lakes, and marshes. The country west of the Mississippi is by far the best portion of Minnesota; but unfortunately the lands all

[13] Truman Smith, long prominent in Connecticut politics, who was just entering upon a term in the United States Senate, played a decisive part in the nomination of Zachary Taylor for president in 1848 and as chairman of the Whig national committee conducted the following presidential campaign.

[14] The writer's estimate of the distribution of population in Minnesota is not borne out by the census of the territory taken in June, 1849. The returns show that St. Paul had a population of 910, and Stillwater, a population of 609. Lumbering operations in the St. Croix Valley were undoubtedly the most important industry. Captain Edward W. Durant reports that seventy-five million feet of logs were scaled through the

belong to the Indians, and there is no place to which settlers can at present be invited. No time should be lost by the government in obtaining, if possible, a cession of a portion of these lands. There is a beautiful strip of country lying along the shore of Lake Pepin, owned by the Sioux half breeds, which would be speedily occupied if thrown open to white settlement.[15] The prosperity of Minnesota demands that every exertion be made to induce the owners of these lands to dispose of them to the government."

The life of our newly born territory is assured when we read in the issue of June 28: "On the 1st of June, Mr. Ramsay, the Governor of this new Territory, issued his proclamation from St. Paul, the capital, for the organization of the Territorial Government. An Iowa paper says it learns from a gentleman just from there that this place is the theatre of almost as much excitement as San Francisco, California. The emigration to that place and the surrounding country is immense. Hundreds are pouring in from all parts daily. Every thing in the shape of a house is filled to overflowing, and large numbers are encamped in tents for want of house room. He says that money is very plenty, and prices of lots and other property high. A large amount of English emigration has come in this spring, bringing with them plenty of funds. Minesota bids fair for a speedy settlement and rapid improvement. Our friend was highly delighted with the beautiful ap-

St. Croix booms in the year 1849. Scarcely one quarter of the entire population of the territory, however, resided in the valley. Minnesota Archives, Executive Registers, no. 1, pp. 15, 16 (in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society); Edward W. Durant, "Lumbering and Steamboating on the St. Croix River," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10:674 (part 2).

[15] This is the tract known as the "Wabashaw reservation," fifteen miles wide, running thirty-two miles down the west bank of the Mississippi River from Red Wing, which the Sioux in the Treaty of Prairie du Chien of 1830 stipulated should be reserved for their half-blood relatives as part of the compensation they were to receive for their cession to the United States government of a parcel of land lying between the Mississippi and

pearance of the country." A brief paragraph late in August states that the Honorable Henry H. Sibley has been elected delegate from Minnesota Territory.[16] With this notice closes the first year of Minnesota's history as recorded in the columns of our newspaper. Soon the snow and ice of winter will close the routes of travel to the new, far-away settlements, and Minnesota will quietly sleep away the first winter of its existence. Other matters are claiming the interest of the readers of our paper. The cholera, which during the previous winter had been prevalent in the southern cities, had gradually spread northward and was becoming a matter of serious concern, and as the year closes, the murder of Dr. Parkman by Professor Webster in Boston is on everyone's lips and is set forth in the paper in all its gruesome details.

Some verses on the beautiful river which bears our state's name, found in the issue of September 6, are a fitting close to our story. These, it is stated, were written for the *New Hampshire Patriot* by Mrs. Mary H. Eastman, "the lady of an officer of the army, a native and for a long time a resident of Concord. They are dedicated to a beautiful river in the youthful territory of Minesota, which from the impulse of Yankee emigration 'Westward ho' will soon be seeking admission to the Union. The stanzas are replete with finely formed ideas expressed in the true spirit of poesy."[17]

the Des Moines rivers. Through the efforts of Henry M. Rice it was surveyed and thrown open to settlement by the act of Congress of July 17, 1854. Folwell, *Minnesota,* 117; United States, *Statutes at Large,* 7:328; 10:304.

[16] The election was held August 1. Sibley was chosen without any opposition.

[17] Mary Henderson Eastman was the wife of Captain Seth Eastman, who was in command at Fort Snelling at different times from 1840 to 1848. Mrs. Eastman is best known as the author of *Dahcotah; or, Life and Legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling,* published in New York in 1849. Her stanzas on the Minnesota River were printed first in the *Minnesota Pioneer* of August 9, 1849, accompanied by a statement of the editor that they were written for that particular publication.

Fair Minesota! by thy shore
No longer may I rest,
Watching the sun's bright beams that dance
And sparkle on thy breast;
No longer may I see the glow
Of evening fade away,
Or the morning mists that gently rise
When breaks the summer's day.

Full often have I gazed on thee
And thought of friends and home,
And prayed that blessings on them all
Like the dew from Heaven might come.
And when at night the stars came out
To gild the sky and thee,
I knew that God, who loveth all,
Watched between them and me.

And when the cares, that all must know,
My spirit bowed to earth,
When sadly o'er my heart would fall
The laugh of joy and mirth;
I watched thy waves so calm and bright
And peace would come again
Like freshness on the parched-up hills
When falls the summer's rain.

Thy valleys green will be a home
To many a stirring mind;
Sorrow will seek thy shores, in hopes
A hiding place to find;
Wealth, too, will come, and in its track
Beauty and luxury;
And where the white man never trod
His power supreme shall be.

But tell me, Minesota,
When the solemn night winds sigh,
Dost thou bear on to ocean's bed
The Indian's mournful cry?
Thou see'st him rudely thrust aside,
Thou see'st th' oppressor's might,
Crushing his liberty of soul,
The red man's sacred right.

Oh! would their laws were equal,
Like brothers they might live;
That white men for the lands they claim
Would truth and justice give;
That the Herald of the Cross might bring
His holy precepts home,
When by a christian people's course
A christian's faith is shown.

Schools will rise up—but tell me,
Will the red man's sons be there?
Churches—but say, will hallow them
The red man's humble prayer?
The stars and stripes will wave aloft—
Witnesses will they be,
That God has given the right to all,
Of life and liberty?

So may it prove, fair river!
That when shall flow no more
Thy waves or Time's—but landed on
Eternity's vast shore;
The white man and the Indian
Free from sorrow, care or pain,
May together drink of Life's pure stream
And never thirst again.

All this from a bundle of old newspapers!

HERBERT C. VARNEY

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE POND PAPERS

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Frances Pond-Titus of Boise, Idaho, the Minnesota Historical Society has been enabled to make photostatic copies of about two hundred letters of Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond, early missionaries to the Sioux in Minnesota. The Pond brothers were of Puritan ancestry, residents of Washington, Connecticut, when it was swept by an old-fashioned New England revival about the year 1831. They were both converted at that time and determined to devote their lives to the cause of spreading the gospel they had so recently come to know. Accordingly the older brother, Samuel, set out for the West in the spring of 1833 to find a suitable field for missionary labors. He followed the usual Ohio route westward to St. Louis and then went up the Mississippi and Fever rivers to the frontier lead-mining town of Galena, Illinois, where he spent the winter of 1833–34. There, by chance, he learned of a wild and roving tribe of Indians, who dwelt on the vast prairies to the northwest in total ignorance of the true faith. He decided that these heathen people would be the goal of his first mission. Accordingly Gideon joined him at Galena in the spring and together they took passage on the steamer "Warrior" for the upper Mississippi, landing at Fort Snelling on the sixth day of May.

The Pond brothers entered the Indian country without the authority of the government; nevertheless they were kindly received by the officials at the fort and were assigned temporary quarters there. At the suggestion of Major Lawrence Taliaferro, the Indian agent, they built their first mission house near an Indian village on the east shore of Lake Calhoun. When the Reverend Jedediah Stevens arrived in 1835 he persuaded them to assist him in establishing a mission on the shore of Lake Harriet, a station which they occupied until the

removal of the Indians from the lake four years later. During this period Samuel spent the greater part of his time with the Indians for the purpose of learning their language. He later returned to Connecticut to study for the ministry and on March, 1837, was ordained. He was appointed as a regular missionary from the American Board and upon returning to Lake Harriet station, married one of its teachers, Cordelia Eggleston, a sister of Mrs. Stevens. Gideon, on the other hand, joined Dr. Thomas S. Williamson at Lac qui Parle in 1836. The following November he married a sister of Mrs. Williamson, Sarah Poage.

The year 1839 found the brothers together again at Lake Harriet. This was the year which marked the climax in the Chippewa-Sioux warfare. The Sioux about the lake became so fearful of their enemies to the north and the officials at the fort so harassed by their frequent raids that the government decided to remove the Indians from this locality. Although Stevens resigned from the American Board about this time, the Ponds remained at the lake several months after the removal of the Indians. In 1840 they rented the "Baker House" in the vicinity of the fort where they resided with their families until 1843 when they entered the station at Oak Grove. During this interval, however, Samuel Pond went to Lac qui Parle to relieve Dr. Stephen R. Riggs, who spent the year 1842-43 in the East. Upon the return of Riggs he took charge of affairs at Oak Grove while Gideon visited relatives in Connecticut and supervised the printing of the Dakota catechism prepared by his brother.

Meanwhile the station at Oak Grove had become so well established that Samuel Pond began to look about for the site of another mission. In 1846 he was invited by Chief Little Six or Shakpe to live with his band at Prairieville or Tintaotonwe. The invitation was accepted and it was here that the older Pond spent the remainder of his life, first as missionary to the Sioux until their removal in 1852, and then as minister

to the white settlers. In 1866 he resigned his charge to live in quiet retirement until his death in 1891.

Gideon remained at Oak Grove as a friend of both the Indian and the white man. He represented his district in the first territorial legislature and in 1850 became the editor of the *Dakota Friend,* a periodical printed in the Dakota and English languages. It was in 1873, just four years before his death, that he retired.

The Pond Papers cover the entire period of the missionary activities of the brothers. Starting with the letters written by Samuel from Galena in 1833 urging Gideon to join him in the mission to the Sioux, the final paper is a letter from Samuel to his son, Samuel Jr., written late in his life and telling of the first Dakota Indian who learned to read and write. Most of the letters were written during the period 1833–50 by the brothers to each other and to their relatives in the East or by the missionaries at Lac qui Parle, Traverse des Sioux, Red Wing, Leech Lake, and Pokegama to the Ponds. They tell of the daily life and the activities of the missions, the habits, customs, and beliefs of the Indians, the progress made in teaching reading, writing, and farming to the savages, and the difficulties experienced in making them understand the tenets of the Christian faith. Much of the time of the early missionaries was spent in learning the Dakota language and reducing it to writing. Nearly every one of the early letters tells of the progress made in this task, which began with the formation of the Pond alphabet in the summer of 1834 and was completed by the compilation of the Dakota lexicon finally published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1852. A Sioux grammar was also compiled and various portions of the Bible and many hymns were translated. The letters from Williamson and Riggs, particularly, deal with this subject.

The correspondence in this collection, together with a narrative of the missionary activities of the Ponds written by Samuel in later life, was used by Samuel Pond Jr., in writ-

ing the "Two Volunteer Missionaries among the Dakotas." Considerable material remains, however, which has not been used, particularly letters describing the activities of missions other than those of the Ponds during the later period of their activity when the influence of the encroaching white settlements, the hostility of the Indians, and the payment of annuities by the government did so much to counteract the efforts of the missionaries. There are some interesting and informing comments on the relation of the fur traders to the missions in the letters from the missionaries. A letter written by Williamson at Kaposia in January of 1849 suggests the possibility of the establishment of manual labor schools for the natives and the development of temperance societies among them. Mr. Riggs, writing in 1850, urged an educational policy for the Sioux and was hopeful of its embodiment in a treaty. A series of letters from David G. Greene, secretary of the American Board in Boston, covering the period 1837–48, constantly advised patience and economy in the prosecution of the work. The exhortation to patience was doubtless a much needed form of admonition but the latter would hardly seem necessary when Samuel Pond was receiving at the time of his marriage an annual salary of two hundred dollars. The letters from Alexander Huggins and Jonas Pettijohn, Indian farmers and assistants at Lac qui Parle, give a less religious and more secular view of life at that station and relate many interesting and amusing incidents. A few letters from officials connected with the fort have been preserved. Among these are two from Major Taliaferro: the first, addressed to Samuel Pond when he was on leave of absence in Connecticut in 1836, is an amusing picture of the Reverend Stevens at the Lake Harriet mission; and the second, is a letter penned years later when misfortune had overtaken the former Indian agent at his home in Bedford, Pennsylvania.

In addition to the narrative of Samuel Pond, which is written in two small notebooks and relates the principal events in

the lives of the brothers from 1831 to 1881, Mrs. Titus has donated a fragment of a Sioux grammar compiled by Samuel as well as a considerable portion of a Hebrew-Dakota lexicon. Almost thirty years ago the two original volumes of the Pond Dakota lexicon were deposited with the society.

ETHEL B. VIRTUE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Brief Glimpses of Unfamiliar Loring Park Aspects; Wherein an Account is given of Interesting and Memorable Events which have hapned in this Valley, with Agreeable Inquirendoes into the lives of Certain of its Pioneers to which is Appended a Chapter of More Flippant Sort (Composed for the Lighter-Minded) having to do with the Pleasant Adventures of One Dad Houghton, the Whole Most Diverting to the Reader. By A. J. Russell. (Minneapolis, Leonard H. Wells, 1919. 181 p. Illustrated)

This charming little book, by the author of *Fourth Street,*[1] presents an entirely new picture of the Lowry Hill district of Minneapolis. It is difficult for one who knows the Harmon Place and Loring Park of to-day to conceive of them as having once formed part of a wooded valley through which a brook made its way into Bassett's Creek. "How many of those who now travel Hennepin Avenue in ever growing numbers look down and see, twelve or fifteen feet under the present surface of the avenue, the blue waters of the Lost Brook that once ran there?"

Starting with the story of the early farming operations near Johnson's Lake, Mr. Russell recounts the changes which resulted as more settlers took up land in that vicinity. He construes the phrase "Loring Park" very freely, and includes all the valley below the "Lowry Hill Range." A reproduction of the Pond map of the Lake Calhoun district illustrates the discussion of various Indian trails which passed through the valley. It is suggested that such routes might well be marked as mementoes of an historic past.

"Accuracy and historical research, while they have not been avoided, have not been primarily sought, but the attempt has been made to obtain old time flavors and aspects," and in this the writer has been successful. There is a freshness about these sketches which is pleasing. Nevertheless, it is evident that time and study have been devoted to the problem of the early settle-

[1] See review in the Bulletin for November, 1917 (p. 274).

ment of the district, a fact which makes the book of value to the student of the history of Minneapolis. It is attractively bound, printed on good paper, and is illustrated with numerous pictures of such early settlers as Joseph Johnson, Oliver Gray, and C. M. Loring. It certainly is "Most Diverting to the Reader."

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK JR.

John P. Williamson, a Brother to the Sioux. By WINIFRED W. BARTON. (New York, etc., Fleming H. Revell Company, 1919. 269 p. Illustrated)

The author of this book set out to write a popular biography of an heroic figure in the home missionary field, and she has succeeded fairly well. The Reverend John P. Williamson was one of a number of devoted men who undertook to carry Christianity to the Sioux beyond the frontier. His father, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, the Pond brothers, and Stephen R. Riggs labored at the task for years. Results were slow in appearing, however, and it was not until after the Sioux outbreak of 1862 that their efforts began to bear much fruit. John P. Williamson and his friend, Alfred L. Riggs, grew to manhood among the Sioux of Minnesota and were well fitted to continue the work of the Dakota mission. The first three chapters of the book deal with Williamson's early life at the mission stations, his struggle for an education, and the beginning of his ministry. After his ordination he himself became a missionary at Redwood, near the Lower Sioux Agency, and at the request of the Indian agent interpreted the rash statement of the trader Myrick at a council shortly before the outbreak of August, 1862. It is to be regretted that the author has not indicated the source of her information about this important council. The remainder of the book is devoted to an account of the religious and educational work which Williamson carried on at various Indian reservations in the Dakotas. The biography gives an interesting view of the progress of the Indians from barbarism to civilization under the guidance of the missionaries.

The author has quoted extensively from Stephen R. Riggs's *Mary and I*, and from other books, but failure to give page refer-

ences makes it difficult to check up the statements. Selections from numerous letters have also been used, but without indication as to where the originals are to be found. Many sketches by John Redowl and a number of photographs add to the attractiveness of the book, although the choice of subjects for the drawings is not particularly good. Despite the fact that it is popular and superficial rather than scholarly, this biography will be of value to students of the history of the Northwest.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK JR.

Our Debt to the Red Man; the French-Indians in the Development of the United States. By LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON. (Boston, Stratford Company, 1918. XI, 210 p. Illustrated)

If any group is more misjudged than the American Indian it is the French-Indian metis. Mrs. Houghton has attempted to clear up some of the misconceptions in regard to these people and has dealt with their contributions and not those of the full-blood Red Man as the main title suggests. The services of these men to the United States, including Minnesota, are varied. As a whole they have been intensely loyal to the government; they have served ably as interpreters, mediators, traders, explorers, colonizers, and missionaries, and have made valuable contributions to the literature and art of the country. Whether descendants of Choctaw, Sioux, or Cherokee, they have found their way into almost every field of industry and are to-day serving as chiefs of police, physicians, teachers, clerks, and stenographers. It has been aptly said that "the educated Indian would rather work with his brain than his hands . . . if this be true of the full-blood Indian, it is much more true of the metis."

Mrs. Houghton has gathered a wide variety of material but she has not used it with discrimination. The text contains endless details, which might better have been relegated to footnotes, and the inclusion of references in the body adds to the confusion of the reader. Nevertheless, despite its crudities of form and a number of grammatical and typographical errors, the book is distinctly worth while. It suggests numerous opportunities for in-

vestigation in the field of American history, more especially that of the Northwest. The illustrations include pictures of some of the finest men of this mixed race, such as Charles E. Dagenett, supervisor of Indian employment, a French-Miami, and the Honorable Gabe E. Parker, superintendent of the five civilized tribes, a French-Choctaw.

DOROTHY A. HEINEMANN

Svenska Baptisternas i Minnesota Historia från 1850-talet till 1918. Utarbetad av P. RYDEN. (Minneapolis, Minnesota, Statskonferens, 1918. 275 p. Illustrated)

This historical survey of the Swedish Baptist Church in Minnesota from 1850 to 1918 was published in response to a resolution adopted at the fifty-seventh annual conference held at Cambridge, Minnesota, June 16–20, 1915. The task of the compilers was rendered difficult owing to the fact that prior to the appointment of the committee little had been done to collect and preserve material for a work of this kind. In spite of this serious handicap, the volume contains a vast amount of information, enriched by numerous pictures of churches and of leaders, living and dead.

The conference was organized at Scandia, September 19, 1858, under the name *Skandinaviska konferensen,* retaining this title until 1885, when it assumed the present one, *Svenska baptisternas i Minnesota konferens.* The greater part of the work is devoted to brief historical sketches containing, for each congregation, the names of prominent members and pastors and the dates of the organization and erection of churches. There are also chapters on the beginning of the Baptist movement in Sweden, the persecution to which the dissenters were subjected, the hardships of the early immigrants, the lives of pioneer preachers and missionaries, and the increase of membership in the church. No doubt there are, as the compilers admit, errors of omission and commission; nevertheless the volume is a valuable addition to the available material for the history of Minnesota.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

Haugeanism: A Brief Sketch of the Movement and some of its Chief Exponents. By M. O. Wee. (St. Paul, the author, 1919. 72 p. Illustrated)

The writer of the introduction, Professor O. M. Norlie, has indicated the scope of the book in the statement that it seeks to explain what Haugeanism is and to give brief sketches of some of the leaders in the old country and in America. An examination of the work indicates that these purposes have been accomplished in a fairly satisfactory manner. The author reveals a strong sympathy for the ideals of Haugeanism without overslaughing its dangers and weaknesses and without unduly magnifying the abuses in the Norwegian State Church which gave birth to the movement of dissent. The book is of interest to the student who desires information about the religious background of Norwegian emigration and the religious tendencies of the Norwegian-Americans.

G. M. S.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Mr. Herbert C. Varney addressed the society on "The Birth Notices of a State" at the annual meeting of the executive council of the society, held as an open session on February 24. At the stated meeting of the executive council April 14 two papers were read: "The Attitude of the Swedish-Americans toward the World War," by Dr. George M. Stephenson, and "Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi after the Civil War," by Professor Lester B. Shippee. The meeting was open to the public and was attended by about seventy-five.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending April 30, 1919: Minnie L. Hills, Henry A. Merrill, and Ethel B. Virtue of St. Paul; Norman S. B. Gras and Mrs. Charles S. Pillsbury of Minneapolis; Peter Broberg of New London; Otis B. De Laurier of Long Prairie; Orrin Fruit Smith of Winona; August E. Wentzel of Crookston; and Mrs. Anna E. Wilson of Janesville. The society has lost four members by death during the same period: Benjamin L. Goodkind of St. Paul, February 17; the Honorable Darwin S. Hall of Olivia, February 20; Auguste L. Larpenteur of St. Paul, February 24; and William White of St. Paul, April 2. Mr. White and Mr. Hall were both members of the executive council. Mr. Larpenteur was the last survivor of the one hundred and twenty-three original members of the society and one of the last two survivors of the Minnesota Old Settlers' Association, membership in which was confined to those who lived in Minnesota before it was organized as a separate territory in 1849.

During the months of February, March, and April about one hundred pasteboard boxes of the early records of the governor's office dating from 1849 to 1865 were taken from the Capitol and deposited in the manuscript division. At the present time everything of territorial date, from 1849 to 1858, that has withstood the ravages of later years, has been cleaned, pressed, and arranged. By far the larger part of the material is correspondence, though

some other papers consisting of election returns, requisitions and other criminal records, and a few scattering commissions and reports of territorial officers have been found.

During the transfer of the early archives from the govenor's office to the Historical Building in April, the records, now nearly a century old, of the first election in Minnesota Territory were again brought to the light. This election was held pursuant to the proclamation of Governor Ramsey issued on July 7, 1849, which divided the territory into seven districts and ordered an election to be held on August 1 to choose a delegate to Congress and the members of the territorial legislature. The records, which are in excellent condition, contain returns from all but the first district. It is interesting to note the number of voters in the various precincts: St. Paul had 191 names on the poll list, Stillwater, 115; St. Anthony and Mendota, 62 each; and Long Prairie, 48. There were 14 voters at Lac qui Parle and 28 at Little Canada, where the three judges of election made their marks in lieu of signing their names. The elections were held in all sorts of places. At St. Paul the voters cast their ballots in the house of Henry Jackson; at Stillwater in the Minnesota House; at Mendota in the lower warehouse of Henry H. Sibley; the mission school house was used in the Snake River precinct and the trading house of Olmstead and Rhodes at Long Prairie; and at Taylors Falls Joshua L. Taylor set up the polls in his own home. Henry H. Sibley seems to have been the only candidate for delegate to Congress, but the abstracts show a goodly number of candidates for seats in the territorial legislature. One of these, William Surgis of the sixth district, was so popular that he was elected to both branches of the legislature. He immediately resigned his seat in the lower house and a special election was called to fill the vacancy.

In this the centennial anniversary year of the founding of Fort Snelling, the journals of Major Lawrence Taliaferro, one of the society's most treasured possessions, are of renewed interest and value. Major Taliaferro was the United States Indian agent at the fort from the time of its establishment in 1819 until 1841, and during most of those years he kept a daily account of the happen-

ings in his office. One of these journals recounting events from May, 1833, to August 26, 1834, was so badly burned when the major's home was destroyed by fire that students have been unable to consult it without parts of the manuscript falling in pieces. Recently a careful typewritten copy has been made of this journal so that its contents are now available to all interested persons.

A variety of topics have been discussed at the semimonthly children's history hour: "Early Steamboats on the Upper Mississippi," "Some Famous Minnesota Pioneers," "The History of Fire Arms," and "Life in the Ancient Indian Villages of Minnesota." After these talks, as at previous meetings, the children evinced considerable interest in playing the museum game. About eighty children attended each gathering.

Special exhibits in honor of Lincoln and Washington and of St. Valentine were arranged during the month of February and a permanent exhibit of the various types of Indian arrowpoints was added to those already found in the Indian room of the museum.

Since February school teachers have brought sixty-eight classes, including 2279 pupils, to the museum. Twenty of these classes came from Minneapolis and seven, with a total of 331, came from schools outside the Twin Cities.

A program in honor of Washington was held in the Historical Building on the afternoon of February 22. At that time the two hundred and sixty-three visitors were shown the process of cleaning and repairing manuscripts as well as the special exhibits of relics, pictures, and manuscripts bearing on the lives of Lincoln and Washington.

The Historical Building was the scene of three club meetings during the last quarter. On February 15 the Minnesota Chapter of the Colonial Dames of America met in the auditorium. Mrs. Marion Furness read a paper on the diary kept by her father, Alexander Ramsey, during the territorial period of Minnesota. On April 4 the Twin City History Teachers' Association had a supper in the museum, and on April 22 twenty-five members of the Dome Club toured the building.

Gifts

Mr. William L. Darling of St. Paul, a member of the railway commission from the United States to Russia, has presented the society with a file of the *Russian Daily News,* from March 15 to August 4, 1917, a few numbers of which are missing. This interesting and valuable paper, called originally the *Private News Letter,* was started in 1915 as a mimeographed sheet containing translations into English of the more important news items from the Russian papers. On April 25, with the appearance of the first printed number, the name was changed to the *Russian Daily News;* and thereafter, until July 23, one printed number was issued each week, the other numbers being mimeographed. The editor and publisher was H. Custis Vezey of Petrograd, and the file presented to the society was purchased by Mr. Darling in that city. The first number contains an account of the acts of the executive committee of the Duma immediately after the revolution was accomplished. The interests of the paper are world-wide, and the news from the foreign countries, especially Great Britain and America, is given as much prominence as is that of Russia. The file is particularly valuable, for it gives first-hand condensed accounts in English of events in Russia during the troubled times closely following the revolution.

Professor H. E. Whitney of the Shattuck School has donated to the society a group of sixteen pictures of early steamboats on the upper Mississippi. These pictures are a valuable addition to the collections illustrating the history of steamboating.

From Mr. Arthur Courtney of St. Paul the society has received two German coins. Mr. Courtney is now with the Army of Occupation in Germany.

A framed photograph of Paul C. Davis, the first boy in his home community to die in France, has been received from his father, the Honorable Andrew Davis of Elk River, Minnesota.

Mr. George P. Metcalf of St. Paul has donated a collection of unique pictures of the courthouse of St. Paul in 1857, Carson's Trading Post, Bemidiji, and of Chief Bemidiji.

Mrs. A. P. Moss of St. Paul has placed on deposit in the museum several old-fashioned ribbons, shoes, card cases, and other articles of early American costume. These are interesting additions to the museum collections illustrating early domestic life. Mrs. Moss has also presented to the society a few letters of H. L. Moss, a Minnesota pioneer and United States district attorney. These papers pertain largely to annuity claims of the loyal Sioux of 1862.

From Mr. Arthur Courtney of St. Paul the society has received a considerable number of manuscripts and museum objects. The collection includes seventeen valuable autograph letters bearing the signatures of prominent people, such as Phillips Brooks and Andrew Carnegie; also two interesting broadsides, one entitled "Old Abe's Preliminary Visit to the White House," and the other, "An Appeal to Liberty Men to Vote Early on Monday morning, November 8, 1847."

Through the courtesy of Mr. R. D. Strong of Minneapolis a copy of the journal kept by Dr. William D. Dibb, government physician and surgeon with the famous Fisk expeditions of 1862, 1863, 1864, has been deposited with the society. The journal contains daily accounts of the movements of soldiers and emigrants across the western plains, describing buffalo hunts, fights with grizzly bears, an attack by Indians and the rescue by United States troops from Fort Rice, and the finding of gold. Extracts from the most interesting entries, together with an account of the history of the manuscript, appear in the *Minneapolis Journal* of March 2.

The Register of the Twin City Municipal Exhibit of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, presented by Dr. Dawson Johnston of St. Paul, is an interesting addition to the society's collection of registers.

An interesting and valuable acquisition is a contemporary "Journal of Travel to California in 1853," presented by W. W. Gilbert of Minneapolis. The wagon train in which Mr. Gilbert traveled left Milwaukee, April 15, 1853, wound its way across Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa, and thence by the prairie trail to Salt Lake City and across the desert to Placerville, California.

Through the courtesy of Orrin F. Smith the society has come into the possession of a number of interesting papers relating to the early history of Winona.

The society is indebted to Colonel C. B. Humphrey of the 805th Pioneer Infantry (colored) for a copy of the official history of the regiment written by Captain Paul S. Bliss of St. Paul.

An interesting manuscript account of the first balloon ascension in St. Paul in 1857, written by J. O. Donahower, has been presented by Mr. William F. Markoe of White Bear.

A manuscript collection, primarily of interest for the autographs, has been presented by Frank D. Willis of St. Paul. Most of the twenty-two letters in the collection are signed by prominent Minnesotans, such as Cushman K. Davis, John Lind, and Knute Nelson.

Mr. Joseph G. Butler of Youngstown, Ohio, a member of the American Industrial Commission to France in 1916, has presented the society with an autographed copy of his book describing the journey of the commission. The book contains excellent illustrations.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The record of Archbishop Ireland's opposition to the Cahensley plot forms one of the most interesting chapters of *Ten Years near the German Frontier* by Maurice Francis Egan (New York, 1919. 364 p.). Because of his successful efforts in nullifying this attempt on the part of the German government to keep German Catholic immigrants in America faithful to the Fatherland by placing them under the exclusive influence of German teachers and preachers, Father Ireland increased the ill will held for him by the former Kaiser; he incurred the enmity of William in earlier years by his friendship for Cardinal Rampolla and the assistance he lent in getting Pope Leo to recognize the French Republic. To the Kaiser's enmity Mr. Egan attributes the late Archbishop's failure to gain the cardinal's hat, for Austria and Bavaria, backed by Prussia, protested against every attempt on the part of Rome to give him the reward he so eminently deserved. It was as United States minister to Denmark, that Mr. Egan had access to sources which gave him much of "the inside of recent history."

Two sketches of Archbishop Ireland have recently been published in pamphlet form; one a memoir entitled *Archbishop Ireland, Prelate, Patriot, Publicist,* compiled by the Reverend James M. Reardon and published by the *Catholic Bulletin* (St. Paul, 1919. 30 p.); the other a tribute of the Minnesota Commandery Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (St. Paul, 1919. 10 p.), of which organization the Archbishop was a companion, having served as chaplain of the Fifth Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in 1862. Both are valuable records of the activities of this distinguished man.

The Historical Department of Iowa has brought out a revised and extended edition of *Iowa Authors and Their Works: A Contribution toward a Bibliography,* by Alice Marple (Des Moines, 1918. 359 p.).

A report on *The Northeastern Minnesota Forest Fires of October 12, 1918,* by H. W. Richardson of the United states weather bureau, Duluth, Minnesota, has appeared in pamphlet form, a reprint from the *Geographical Review* for April. It contains a description of the climatic conditions preceding the fires and a discussion of the devastation wrought during that day in Duluth and its immediate vicinity.

In a series of fifteen sketches of *Indian Heroes and Chieftains* (Boston, 1918. 241 p.), Charles A. Eastman, a full-blood Sioux, points out the characteristics of certain Indian "chiefs" who came into prominence in the last part of the nineteenth century. He differentiates these men, who often did not represent their tribes, from the earlier leaders and spokesmen of the Indians. Among the biographies are those of two prominent figures in Minnesota history, Little Crow and Hole-in-the-Day.

Three recent publications of the agricultural experiment station of the University of Minnesota contain material of value to the student of the history of agriculture in Minnesota: *Farm Tenancy and Leases,* by S. H. Benton (December, 1918. 33 p.); *The Cost of Producing Minnesota Field Crops, 1913–1917,* by F. W. Peck (November, 1918. 42 p.); and *Experiences of Northern Minnesota Settlers,* by F. W. Peck (December, 1918. 433 p.). The pamphlets comprise numbers 178, 179, and 180 of the station's *Bulletins.*

"The Northern Pacific Railroad and Some of Its History" is the subject of a brief article by Hanford W. Fairweather in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for April.

In *Certain American Faces* (New York, 1918. 239 p.) the Reverend Charles Lewis Slattery of Grace Church, New York, has brought together in a single volume sketches of fifteen men and women either leaders of America or of such striking personality as to "inspire others to attainment and to action while they themselves prefer a dimmer light." Four Minnesotans are included in the book: Bishop Henry Whipple; his sister-in-law, Mrs. George Whipple; his cousin, Miss Mary Webster Whipple;

and Dr. Charles N. Hewitt of Red Wing. The author was dean of the cathedral at Faribault from 1896 to 1907.

A sketch of John Sargent Pillsbury, eighth governor of Minnesota, appears in the *Western Magazine* for April. It is number nine in the series, "State Builders of the West," which is being published at irregular intervals.

The Path on the Rainbow, edited by George W. Cronyn, is an addition to anthologies of North American Indian songs and chants (New York, 1918. 347 p.). The striking resemblance of this aboriginal product to the work of the *vers librists* and Imagists indicates that freedom in versification is not of such recent origin as followers of these schools would have us believe. The section devoted to "Songs from the Eastern Woodlands" contains several poems of the Chippewa (Ojibway) translated by Henry H. Schoolcraft, Charles F. Hoffman, W. J. Hoffman, and Frances Densmore; and among the "Songs from the Great Plains" are two "Hunting Songs," translated by Stephen R. Riggs.

Two sheets of the great topographic map being published by the United States Geological Survey which have recently appeared are "Brainerd Quadrangle" in Crow Wing County and "White Rock Quadrangle," which includes the region about the northern end of Lake Traverse in Minnesota and both of the Dakotas.

The University of Colorado has begun the publication of a series of *Historical Collections* consisting "of documents and other material primarily relating to the history of Colorado." The first volume, edited by Professor James F. Willard, is entitled *The Union Colony at Greely, Colorado, 1869–1871* and is volume one of the *Colony Series* (Boulder, 1918. xxxii, 412 p.).

The Structural and Ornamental Stones of Minnesota, by Oliver Bowles, has been issued as number 663 of the *Bulletins* of the United States Geological Survey (1918. 225 p.). It was "prepared in coöperation with the Minnesota State Geological Survey" and contains, besides much strictly geological information,

a brief account of the development of the stone industry in Minnesota and many maps, sketches, and illustrations.

Of inestimable value to the student of Minnesota history is the work of the United States Geological Survey in mapping the state. A report on the work already done appears in *Topographic Mapping of Minnesota,* by E. F. Willard, a reprint from the *Bulletin* of the Affiliated Engineering Societies of Minnesota for February (7 p.).

A separate containing an interview with Horace V. Winchell, mining geologist of Minnesota, appears as a reprint from the *Mining and Scientific Press* for February 15 (16 p.). The article includes much information in regard to the work which he did in connection with the geological survey made by his father, N. H. Winchell, in northern Minnesota.

An account by Charles C. Willson of the military expedition led by Lieutenant-Colonel Morgan through Olmsted County in July of 1820 appears in the *Rochester Daily Post and Record* of April 24.

The discovery of the Dibb Journal led to the writing of a letter by D. J Dodge, one of the members of the Fort Rice rescuing party of 1864, to the *Minneapolis Journal* of March 23. Mr. Dodge recounts the story of the attempted Indian massacre of July and August, 1864.

The decline of transportation on the Mississippi since 1879 is the subject of an article in the *Winona Independent* for March 2, extracts of which appear in the *Minneapolis Journal* of March 9. The account is based on a hydrograph made from the annual reports recorded at the Northwestern railroad drawbridge at Winona.

A sketch of the Honorable Darwin S. Hall, the "grand old settler" of Renville County, Minnesota, appears in the February 27 issue of the *Olivia Times.* The article contains interesting comments on his life and work.

Volume 12 of the *Minnesota Patriot,* a quarterly newspaper issued by the Prohibition committee of Minnesota, contains a

series of articles of considerable interest and value on the history of prohibition and especially the part Minnesota played in the movement which brought about the ratification of the federal amendment on January 16, 1919.

A résumé of the history of the Church of St. Anthony of Padua, Minneapolis, based on material found in the Dibb Papers appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of March 30. Pictures of the church in 1861 and at the present time illustrate the article.

A survey of the steps in the development of the Y. M. C. A. in Minneapolis appears in the February 2 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal.* A picture of the new building illustrates the discussion of the dedication exercises held the following week.

War History Activities

Definite provision has been made by the Legislature of Minnesota for the continuation of the work inaugurated last fall by the public safety commission and the historical society through the instrumentality of a body now well known as the Minnesota War Records Commission. By the terms of an act approved April 17 (*Laws,* 1919, ch. 284) this commission was established as a statutory body with a membership composed of the president of the Minnesota Historical Society, the chairman of the department of history of the University of Minnesota, the adjutant general, the state superintendent of education, and five other citizens to be appointed by the governor. The principal duties of the commission are to provide for the collection and preservation, in state and local war records collections, of all available material relating to Minnesota's participation in the World War, and further to provide for the preparation, publication, and distribution of a comprehensive documentary and narrative history of Minnesota's part in the war. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the act, the legislature appropriated five thousand dollars for each year of the coming biennium. As a further aid to the work to be carried on under the direction of the commission a law was enacted (*Laws,* 1919, ch. 228) authorizing counties and municipalities of the state to appropriate funds for the use of the commission's county war records committees in

amounts ranging from two hundred and fifty dollars for villages and one thousand for counties to five thousand for large cities. It was the hope of the authors of these measures that the state commission would be provided with funds sufficient to enable it during the next years not only to push the work of collecting records but also to commence work on the projected history along the lines indicated in a bulletin issued by the original commission under the title *Minnesota's Part in the War: Shall It be Adequately Recorded?* (27 p.). As matters stand, however, it will be necessary for the commission to postpone the preparation of a state war history and devote itself to the large and more immediately important task of collecting material.

Local committees organized by the Minnesota War Records Commission are now at work in fifty-three counties. Reports received at headquarters indicate that a considerable amount of valuable material is being collected. Almost without exception the local committees are applying themselves particularly to the compilation of individual military service records, for which forms, or questionnaires, calling for specific information about a man's military or naval career and about his civil status before and immediately following his term of service, have been supplied by the state commission. Attention is also being given to the collection of other material, particularly soldiers' photographs and letters, files of local newspapers, and reports on the activities of the several local war agencies. There is a slight tendency, however, to overlook some of the less obviously pertinent material, especially in the case of those direct products of actual war conditions which may be called "ready-made" records as distinguished from "made-to-order" compilations and reports.

Interest in the collection and preservation of records relating to Wilkin County's part in the war has extended to matters of general local history and has resulted in the organization of a body known as the Wilkin County Historical Society. The object of this society, as stated in its constitution, is: "to collect data and material relating to the history of Wilkin County, Minnesota; to arrange for its preservation; to encourage persons to donate to the society such data, articles, or materials as will

illustrate the pioneer and later life in the county and vicinity; to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Wilkin County; and to co-operate with similar organizations." For the present, however, the society will devote its efforts to the collection of local war history material, having incorporated the county war records commission as one of its active committees.

The war records committees of Chisago and Rice counties have decided, in addition to the building up of collections of source material, to compile and publish histories of the part played by their respective counties in the war. A similar project is under consideration by the Douglas County committee. The histories will be sold at cost; in Rice County it is planned to distribute copies among local soldiers, sailors, marines, and relatives of those who died in the service, as tokens of the county's gratitude and esteem.

Among recently announced projects of local newspaper publishers and other agencies for the publication of county war histories, the following have been noted: Big Stone County, *Ortonville Journal;* Blue Earth County, *Mankato Free Press;* Carlton County, *Moose Lake Star-Gazette;* Chippewa County, *Montevideo News;* Cottonwood County, *Windom Reporter* and Thompson Studio; Dakota County, *Red Wing Printing Company;* Faribault County, *Wells Forum-Advocate;* Goodhue County, *Red Wing Republican;* Lyon County, *Marshall News-Messenger;* Martin County, *Fairmont Sentinel;* Mower County, *Austin Herald;* Nobles and Rock Counties, *Pipestone Leader;* Ottertail County, *Lundeen Publishing Company,* Fergus Falls; Wadena County, *Wadena Pioneer Journal;* and Waseca County, *Waseca Journal-Radical.*

One of the most successful methods used in the collection of photographs of soldiers and of local war-time scenes is the staging of well-advertised photographic exhibits with the ultimate object of retaining the collections as permanent records. Such an exhibit was held at the St. Paul Public Library from January 30 to February 10 under the auspices of a number of local organizations including the Ramsey County War Records Com-

mittee, and resulted in the assembling of a permanent collection of several thousand photographs, which has since been installed provisionally in the rooms of the St. Paul Institute. In securing soldiers' service records some of the county war record committees depend largely upon general appeals, while others are making systematic efforts to bring the matter home to the individual soldier. The latter is the practice followed in Nobles County, for instance, where the committee has made arrangements whereby the desired data will be gathered by local assessors in the course of their regular rounds. The Rice County War Records Committee has been unusually successful in originating methods for making its work effective. It has made ingenious use of advertising mediums such as the local newspapers, posters, handbills, and films.

While the coöperation of all citizens of the state, both individually and collectively, is sought by the war records commission, there are indications that the organizations now being formed among returned soldiers, sailors, and marines will be of marked assistance, especially in the compilation and collection of military data and records. A tentative organization of service men in Traverse County has indicated upon its own motion a desire to share in the work, while the Polk County branch of the World War Veterans has taken active charge of a large part of the work planned by the war records committee of that county.

Among county records committees receiving notable financial support are: the Morrison County Committee, for which the county board and the city council of Little Falls have each appropriated one hundred and twenty-five dollars; the Mower County committee, which has received a gift of one hundred and fifty dollars from Mr. Oliver W. Shaw, an Austin banker; the Nicollet County committee, to which the sum of five hundred dollars has been granted by the county board; and the Rice County committee, which has received one thousand dollars of the county funds. The committee in St. Louis County, in expectation of receiving early and substantial public aid, has employed a paid secretary and has opened its headquarters at the courthouse in Duluth.

As a guide for the collection of local war history material and for the preparation of county war histories for publication, the Indiana Historical Commission has issued a *County War History Prospectus* (1919. 13 p.), which gives in outline form a comprehensive survey of the various phases of local activities which are obviously or properly to be dealt with in an adequate treatment of the subject, together with a few concise directions bringing out the importance and uses to be made of original source material and the best methods of dealing with the various topics. Similar in purpose and form, though differing somewhat in the choice and arrangement of topics, is a *Tentative Outline for a County War History* (22 p.), which comprises the February number of *Iowa and War,* published by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

A convenient method of preserving a record of the war services of the members of a family is suggested by the *Story of the War and Family War Service Record* (St. Paul, Mackey, Smith, and Stiles, 1919. 324 p.). Following a general account of military and naval operations in the World War, blank forms and blank pages comprising over half the book are provided for records of the war services of particular persons. To each of the following types of service is alloted a separate section with space for a photograph, a form suitable for the particular purpose, and from one to four blank pages for a narrative account of experiences: army, navy, marine corps, air service, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Knights of Columbus, Salvation Army, Jewish Welfare Board, War Camp Community Service, Home Guards, Boy Scouts, and Civilian War Service.

Collecting Local War Records, by C. Edward Graves, is an interesting article which appears in the *Library Journal* for February. It is an appeal to the local librarian to assume the responsibility of a war records commission if such a committee has not been provided for a given community.

"Ohio's Religious Organizations and the War," by Martha L. Edwards, in the *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly* for April, is suggestive of the multitude of topics which will have to

be studied before the sympathetic historian can present an adequate treatment of a state's part in the World War.

Under plans worked out by the committee on historical records of the National Catholic War Council, diocesan war history committees are being organized throughout the country for the purpose of gathering all available material for a history of the part played by the American Catholics in the war. Detailed directions for the work, which appear in a *Handbook of the National Catholic War Council* and in recent numbers of the *Catholic Historical Review,* indicate that a very thorough survey is to be made of the individual and collective services of the Roman Catholic clergy and laity. The work in Minnesota is in charge of the Very Reverend James C. Byrne of St. Luke's Church, St. Paul.

The War Record of American Jews (New York, The American Jewish Committee. 50 p.) contains the first report of the efforts made by this organization "to collect and record as much statistical and other information with regard to the participation of the Jews in the military and civilian activities of the United States in connection with the war as is possible to procure." The pamphlet is accompanied by tables, based upon about eighty thousand of the one hundred thousand individual records thus far secured, giving provisional figures as to the number and distribution of Jews according to their branch of the service, rank, and place of origin. These preliminary counts show that six hundred and fifty-eight are from Minnesota and that of these two hundred and eighty-one are residents of Minneapolis.

Of preliminary accounts or summaries of the part taken by the several states in the prosecution of the war, two have come to hand: one, *Wisconsin's War Record,* by Fred L. Holmes (Madison, Capitol Historical Publishing Company, 1919. 191 p.); the other, an *Official Report* (54 p.) of the Oklahoma State Council of Defense, covering its own and other leading war activities in that state during the period from May, 1917, to January 1, 1919, and published as the last number (March 17) of the official *Bulletin* issued by the council under the title *Sooners in the War.*

An important contribution to the literature on one phase of Minnesota's part in the war appears in a pamphlet entitled *Responsibility for the Movement of Anthracite in Minnesota in the Fuel Year April 1, 1918, to February 1, 1919,* by John F. McGee (20 p.). The author endeavors to correct what he holds to be the general impression among the dealers and consumers of the state that he, as federal fuel administrator for Minnesota, was responsible for the failure of the fuel administration to see that the dealers received the anthracite necessary to fill orders filed early in the season at the urgent request of the fuel administration itself. Judge McGee's statement is accompanied by a series of letters and telegrams dealing with the subject and, for the most part, directed to Mr. William H. Groverman, representative of the federal fuel administration in the district embracing Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North and South Dakota.

The February 15 issue of *Minnesota in the War; Official Bulletin of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety* is a "special edition for the woman's committee" and contains brief surveys of various phases of the war work of Minnesota women.

Copies of the "Chronicles of the Selective Draft" compiled by the local draft boards of Mille Lacs County and Division No. 1 of St. Paul and of the district board of Division No. 3, St. Paul, have been received by the Minnesota War Records Commission. The chronicles submitted by the local board of St. Paul were accompanied by a typewritten account covering such subjects as its organization and personnel, the registration, examination, classification, and entrainment of selective service men, experiences with "religious objectors," draft evaders, and delinquents, and the services and personnel of legal and medical advisory boards and groups of volunteer and clerical aides.

A recent publication of considerable value is the *Summary and Report of War Service* (Minneapolis Division, American Protective League. 27 p.). It contains a wealth of information about the activities carried on by the Minneapolis division of the American Protective League in the apprehension of slackers, delinquents, deserters, seditionists, and spies; in the surveillance of

enemy aliens and suspects; in the investigation of propaganda; and in correcting conditions which threatened the physical and moral well-being of men in the service.

How Minnesota Gave to the United States the First Military Motor Corps, compiled and published by Ralph H. Bancroft (Minneapolis, 1919. 118 p.), is an interesting and valuable record of the work of the First Battalion, Motor Corps, of the Minnesota Home Guards. The book contains pictures and rosters of the officers and men belonging to the unit and depicts the stages in its development.

Among the papers and magazines published in the interest of soldiers, sailors, and marines, which are currently received by the Minnesota War Records Commission are: the *Watch on the Rhine,* issued weekly, beginning February 27, by the men of the Third (Marne) Division from the headquarters at Andernach, Germany; the *Ninth Infantry "Cootie,"* published weekly, beginning March 29, by men of the Ninth Regiment United States Infantry (Second Division) at Bendorf on the Rhine; the *Loyal Worker,* published semimonthly at Stillwater by the Honor Club of Washington County soldiers, sailors, and marines; and *Reveille,* issued weekly, beginning April 26, as the official publication of the United States Army General Hospital No. 29, Fort Snelling. While devoted in large part to articles, news, and comment relating to present-day activities and interests of units or groups of men now or formerly in the service, each of these publications offers many contributions to the history of active operations in which the various units or individuals took part. For example, the *Watch on the Rhine* is running a series of articles covering the services performed by the Third Division during the critical period preceding the armistice and later as a part of the Army of Occupation; while the April 1 issue of the *Loyal Worker* contains an honor roll of the names, in a few cases accompanied by photographs, of Washington County men in the service. Special interest attaches to the *"Cootie"* by reason of the fact that its editor-in-chief, Lieutenant Claire I. Weikert, is a former resident of St. Paul.

The concluding number (volume 1, number 28) of the *Propellor,* published by the Air Service Mechanics School in St. Paul, is devoted to a résumé of the work done at the school from February, 1918, to January, 1919. The most striking feature of the number is the numerous photographic reproductions illustrative of the commissioned, enlisted, and civilian personnel, of the work done in the various departments, and of the daily life at the school.

An account of the organization, training, and camp life of the Ninety-first (Wild West) Division at Camp Lewis, Washington, appears in a book entitled *The Ninety-first: the First at Camp Lewis,* by Alice P. Henderson (Tacoma, John C. Barr, 1918. 510 p.). It is estimated that of the Minnesota selective service men sent to Camp Lewis more than fifteen hundred were assigned to this division.

The *North Star* (Minneapolis) for April publishes "The Story of the 'Lost Battalion'" as told by Private Arthur R. Looker of Viola, Wisconsin, who was with that famous unit when it was surrounded by the Germans in the Argonne Forest and who is one of the few survivors of the ordeals through which it passed. A sketch of the battleground, made by Mr. Looker, accompanies the article.

The Minnesota Memorial Commission, appointed by the governor to receive suggestions and make recommendations for a state memorial, submitted a report in February recommending that the memorial take the form of a mall on the campus of the University of Minnesota with a large auditorium at the northern end and a campanile, two hundred and twenty-five feet in height, at the southern end on the banks of the Mississippi. There was also submitted a minority report recommending that the memorial take the form of a building, strictly commemorative in character, to be located on or near the grounds of the Capitol in St. Paul. These reports, which appear in two pamphlets entitled respectively *Report of the Minnesota Memorial Commission* (26 p.) and *A Statement of Facts Relating to the Proposed State Memorial* (7 p.), were transmitted by the governor to the legislature

without recommendation. Other plans, submitted by members, were up for consideration by the legislature. The session closed, however, without any decisive action being taken in the matter.

Although the recent legislature took no action toward the erection of a state memorial to veterans of the World War, the way was opened for local projects of this character when it provided that "the bonds of any county in this state may be issued and sold in an amount not exceeding $50,000, for the purpose of acquiring a site at county seat and constructing thereon a monument or memorial in honor of the soldiers and sailors who fought in the army, marine corps and navy of the United States during the recent war" *(Laws,* 1919, ch. 438). The issuance of such bonds, however, is contingent first, upon the favorable decision of the county board, and, finally, upon the endorsement of a majority of those voting on the proposition when submitted.

Discussion of projects for the erection of local war memorials is active throughout the state. In some communities, the city of St. Paul and Winona and Red Lake counties, for example, the matter has been placed in the hands of an official commission or of a voluntary association, while in other localities, the county board, commercial club, or other organization has taken the initiative. To such bodies and to the public through the press have come a great variety of suggestions. Among the types of memorials considered are parks, fountains, bridges, and highways; symbolic memorials, in all gradations and variations from the most elaborate architectural and scenic design recommended for the large civic center to the simple shaft or sculptored monument intended for the rural community; and memorial halls or community buildings designed for the living as well as for the dead and embodying one or more such features as an auditorium, a library, a club room for veterans' associations, an office for social and civic organizations, a gymnasium, a rest room, a tablet inscribed with the names of service men, or facilities for the preservation of war relics and records. While the subject is still under discussion in most communities, the general trend of opinion appears to favor the community building type of memorial. Duluth has already made preliminary arrangements for the erec-

tion of a one hundred and fifty thousand dollar marble structure. It is interesting to note that provision is to be made for the housing of relics and records relating to the war services of Duluth citizens, together with historical records of the development of the city.

Valuable suggestions for those interested in war memorials from an aesthetic as well as an utilitarian point of view are found in the following publications: *War Memorials: Suggestions as to the Form of Obtaining Designers* (Washington, D. C., National Commission of Fine Arts. 3 p.); four *Bulletins* (New York, National Committee on Memorial Buildings), which advocate the erection of community buildings as "living tributes to those who served in the Great War for liberty and democracy"; and *Concerning War Memorials,* (Madison, Wisconsin War History Committee. 6 p.), a pamphlet which warns against commercialism and contains a statement of "certain broad general principles . . . to which every community, in working out its particular problem, should give heed."

War Memorials is the title of a timely pamphlet issued by the Municipal Art Society of New York City as number seventeen of its *Bulletins.* In it those who may be charged with responsibility in connection with soldier's memorials will find many helpful suggestions.

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HENRY HASTINGS SIBLEY AND THE MINNESOTA FRONTIER[1]

If the West be thought of as a period rather than a place then the study of a limited area which passed through the successive stages in the evolution of society on the frontier will be typical of what was repeated over and over again in the conquest and settlement of the continent. And, in the same way, if a study be made of an individual who lived through and participated in or at least witnessed the various steps, vivid illustrations of the significant features of the westward movement may be found. In the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century these conditions were present in that part of the upper Mississippi Valley which became Minnesota and in the life of Henry Hastings Sibley, fur-trader, first delegate to Congress from Minnesota Territory, and first governor of the state of Minnesota.

The Sibley family furnishes a good illustration of the migration of the New England element.[2] The story of this family takes its beginning in old England back almost, if not quite, to the time of the Norman Conquest.[3] The Puritan emigration during the period of the personal rule of Charles I brought the first Sibleys to the shores of New England, to what may be called the first American West.[4] There, in the second generation, some of the family helped to settle one of the several new towns then being formed on the Indian frontier, and in the

[1] Read at the twelfth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, St. Louis, May 8, 1919.

[2] See Lois K. Mathews, *The Expansion of New England* (Boston, 1909).

[3] William A. Benedict and Hiram A. Tracy, *History of the Town of Sutton, Massachusetts, from 1704 to 1876,* 718 (Worcester, 1878); Nathaniel West, *The Ancestry, Life, and Times of Hon. Henry Hastings Sibley, LL. D.,* 1–17 (St. Paul, 1889).

[4] "The oldest West was the Atlantic coast." Frederick J. Turner, "The Old West," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings,* 1908, p. 184.

process they began to take on some of the characteristics of frontiersmen. For three generations the branch under consideration was identified with the town of Sutton, Massachusetts. Finally in 1795, Solomon Sibley, a young lawyer, began a journey along the trail that led to the first real American West, the region beyond the Alleghanies, going first to Marietta and then to Detroit.[5] This paper will follow the fortunes of a younger son of that Solomon Sibley, from his boyhood in Detroit through his life in the Indian country of the upper Mississippi, where he saw the change from the fur-traders' frontier to territorial days and thence to statehood, an evolution typical in the advance of the frontier across the continent. Three times did members of this family migrate to a newer American West and live through this evolution of society. Sometimes the early settlers in the wilderness formed the habit of drifting along with the frontier; but the more ambitious of the pioneers, of whom Sibley is an example, went farther west in order to get a start in life and then waited for later waves of civilization to overtake them.[6]

Henry Hastings Sibley was born in Detroit, Michigan, February 20, 1811. He was educated in the schools of Detroit and had two years instruction in Greek and Latin under an Episcopalian clergyman. His parents intended that he should be a lawyer, and he studied law for two years. But the prospects of a legal career did not appeal to a young man in whose veins coursed the blood of several generations of pioneers.[7]

[5] Solomon Sibley was the first settler to go to Detroit after the evacuation of that post by the British in 1796 as provided for in the Jay treaty. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 6: 488; Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, 230.

[6] A good description of the waves of civilization may be found in John M. Peck, *A New Guide for Emigrants to the West* (Boston, 1836).

[7] On his father's side Sibley's ancestry can be traced without break to John Sibley who came to Salem, Massachusetts, possibly in 1629, certainly by 1634. His mother was Sarah Whipple Sproat, daughter of Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, a surveyor who worked on the "seven ranges" in 1786 and helped in the surveys at Marietta. Colonel Sproat's wife was Catherine Whipple, a daughter of Commodore Whipple, who was

Accordingly, with the consent of his parents, he gave up his legal studies and, after a time, secured a clerkship with the American Fur Company at Mackinac, a position which he held for four years. The fur company was anxious to secure young men of ability and promise and rapidly advanced those who made good. Such a man was Sibley.

In 1834 the American Fur Company was reorganized. John Jacob Astor retired and Ramsay Crooks became president of the new company which retained the old name. At this time Sibley found himself at a turning point in his career. He received an offer of a position as cashier of a bank in Detroit and a similar offer from a bank in Huron and had almost decided to accept one of them when the way was opened for him to become a partner in the fur company. As a clerk at Mackinac he had become acquainted with the traders who annually reported with their furs at the company headquarters. Two of these traders, Hercules L. Dousman and Joseph Rolette Sr., had been engaged in the fur trade for many years with headquarters at Prairie du Chien. They now proposed to Sibley that he join them in making an agreement with the American Fur Company by which the company would advance the goods and the men give their time in extending operations on the upper Mississippi among the Sioux. According to their plan, Sibley would establish new headquarters on the St. Peter's River and have charge of all the operations in that vicinity. The two friends pictured the wild life on the frontier in such glowing terms that Sibley was influenced to decline the bank offers and to link his fortunes with the Indian country destined to be Minnesota.[8]

descended from John Whipple, one of the original proprietors of Providence Plantations and an associate of Roger Williams. Samuel P. Hildreth, *Biograhical and Historical Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio,* 159–162, 230–237 (Cincinnati, 1852); Benedict and Tracy, *Sutton,* 718; West, *Sibley,* 47.

[8] Sibley, "Memoir of Hercules L. Dousman," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 3:192–194.

The partnership was accordingly formed and on October 28, 1834, Sibley arrived at Mendota, across the St. Peter's River from Fort Snelling.[9] Two years afterward he built the stone house which was his residence until 1862 when he moved to St. Paul. The land on which it was located was not opened for settlement for many years, in fact, not until the time when he was delegate to Congress from Minnesota Territory. During all these years, therefore, he was a squatter on the public domain. Concerning his residence here in different political jurisdictions, Sibley wrote some time later: "It may seem paradoxical, but it is nevertheless true, that I was successively a citizen of Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota Territories, without changing my residence at Mendota."[10] In the short period of fourteen years four territories had exercised nominal jurisdiction over the site, and from 1846 to 1848 the region west of the Mississippi in which Mendota is located had been without territorial organization. Rapid changes of this sort were one of the significant features of the westward movement.

The fur trade in Minnesota was in its most flourishing condition immediately preceding 1837. That year, however, marks the turning point in its history.[11] Up to that time all the lands within the limits of the future Minnesota Territory, except the military reservation at Fort Snelling, belonged to the Indians, but in 1837 a delegation of Sioux chiefs was taken to Washington and a treaty was negotiated with them for the

[9] Sibley to Ramsay Crooks, November 1, 1834, Sibley Papers. These papers, which are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, are especially valuable for studies of the fur trade in Minnesota and of territorial politics from 1848 to 1853.

[10] Sibley, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Minnesota," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 3:265.

[11] Ramsay Crooks to Sibley, April 27, 1836, Sibley Papers. A comparison of the prices and amounts of fur collected as given in the Sibley Papers and in the books of the American Fur Company for the years before and after 1837 shows that that year was the turning point in the history of the fur trade.

cession of certain lands east of the Mississippi.[12] This treaty was made primarily to open up the pine forests of the St. Croix Valley to pioneer lumbermen, the advance guard of the second wave of civilization, and it was thereby an indication that the fur-traders' frontier would soon pass away.

After the steady advance of the white settlers made necessary the negotiation of treaties for the cession of land, the Indians underwent a marked transformation. They came to rely more upon annuities from the government and less upon the collection of furs. This fact, together with the growing scarcity of fur-bearing animals in the region, brought about a decline in the fur trade. This does not mean, however, that the total amount of trade carried on with the Indians necessarily decreased. After the government began to pay the annuities, the Indians could pay for part of their goods in cash, and so the fur company began a retail business. With the appearance of white men other than traders this business was naturally extended to them. As white settlement increased still more the fur company undertook banking operations, making loans, cashing drafts brought in by settlers, and selling exchange on the New York office to those who wished to send money out of the region.[13] This transformation of a fur-trading enterprise into a general mercantile and financial establishment is typical of the evolution of institutions in a frontier community.

The second wave of civilization to come up the Mississippi made its appearance in Minnesota in the last years of the decade of the thirties. Although the treaty with the Indians

[12] United States, *Statutes at Large,* 7: 538. A map showing the cessions of land in Minnesota in the different Indian treaties may be found in William W. Folwell, *Minnesota, the North Star State,* frontispiece (Boston, 1908). See also Charles C. Royce (comp.), *Indian Land Cessions in the United States,* 766 (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report,* part 2—Washington, 1899).

[13] Sydney A. Patchin, "The Development of Banking in Minnesota," in MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, 2: 115–119 (August, 1917).

was made in 1837, the lands were not surveyed and sold for many years. The early lumbermen, as well as the pioneer farmers and even town promoters, were, therefore, squatters upon the public domain, the latter classes relying upon their land claim associations to secure their title. The first regular "outfit" of lumbermen was established in 1837 by John Boyce at the mouth of the Kanabec or Snake River.[14] In the same year Sibley, with two partners, made a contract with the St. Croix and Sauk River bands of the Chippewa by which they secured permission to cut pine for a period of ten years. The Indians agreed not to molest the contractors or their lumbermen and also not to permit anyone else to cut timber in the region. In return for these concessions, the contractors agreed to furnish to the Indians a specified amount of goods, including gunpowder, lead, scalping knives, and tobacco, every year during the period of the contract.[15] Once a beginning had been made, other lumbermen came into the region, sawmills were established, and lumbering towns appeared.

The lumbering industry was partly responsible for the coming of the next class of white settlers, the pioneer farmers. In the period of beginnings, the lumbermen secured their provisions and supplies from the settlements down the Mississippi. It was not long, however, before some of the settlers recognized that Minnesota might have agricultural possibilities and that farmers would find a ready market for their surplus products among the lumbermen. The census of 1840 stated that St. Croix County, Wisconsin Territory, which included the region between the St. Croix and the Mississippi together with a part of the present state of Wisconsin, produced 8,014 bushels of potatoes and 606 bushels of corn. Agriculture did not exist as an independent occupation, however, until between 1840 and

[14] Edward W. Durant, "Lumbering and Steamboating on the St. Croix River," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 10:648 (part 2).

[15] This contract, dated March 13, 1837, was signed by forty-seven Chippewa Indians and by Sibley, Warren, and Aitkin. It is in the Sibley Papers.

1850.[16] There had been some stock raising in the Minnesota region in the thirties when Joseph Renville, at Lac qui Parle owned, as Sibley said, "sheep by the hundreds and cattle by the score."[17] As the decade of the thirties was the heyday of the fur trade in Minnesota, so the decade of the forties brought lumbering to the front as the predominant industry, and that of the fifties marked the transition to agriculture.

As has already been indicated, the early settlers in Minnesota were dependent upon the navigation of the Mississippi. The first steamboat to come up the river as far as Fort Snelling was the "Virginia" which arrived at that point on May 10, 1823, thus demonstrating that it was practicable for steamboats to navigate the Mississippi as far as the St. Peter's River. There was no regular steamboat line established, however, until 1847 when a company was formed, with Sibley as a member, to run a regular line of packets from Galena to Mendota.[18]

Very little government existed before 1840 in the region which became Minnesota. In that year the peninsula between the St. Croix and the Mississippi rivers was included in the newly organized county of St. Croix, Wisconsin Territory. In the region west of the Mississippi, Sibley was for many years the sole representative of the law. "It was my fortune," he wrote, "to be the first to introduce the machinery of the law, into what our legal brethren would have termed a benighted region, having received a commission as Justice of the Peace

[16] Daniel Stanchfield, "History of Pioneer Lumbering on the Upper Mississippi and its Tributaries, with Biographic Sketches," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 9:344; Edward Van Dyke Robinson, *Early Economic Conditions and the Development of Agriculture in Minnesota,* 40 (University of Minnesota, *Studies in the Social Sciences,* no. 3—Minneapolis, 1903).

[17] Sibley, "Reminiscences; Historical and Personal," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1:466 (1872 edition).

[18] Edward D. Neill, "Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling, from 1819 to 1840," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 2:107; J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of St. Paul, and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota,* 173 (*M. H. C.,* vol. 4).

from the Governor of Iowa Territory, for the County of Clayton. This County was an empire in itself in extent, reaching from a line some twenty miles below Prairie du Chien on the west of the 'Father of Waters' to Pembina, and across to the Missouri river. As I was the only magistrate in this region and the county seat was some three hundred miles distant, I had matters pretty much under my own control, there being little chance of an appeal from my decisions. In fact some of the simple-minded people around me firmly believed that I had the power of life and death." Sibley was also the foreman of the first grand jury ever empaneled in Minnesota west of the Mississippi.[19]

The first movement in Congress for the organization of a territory west of Wisconsin was during the session of 1846–47 when the enabling act for Wisconsin was still under consideration. A bill "establishing the Territorial government of Minesota [*sic*]," introduced by Morgan L. Martin, the delegate from Wisconsin Territory, passed the House but was not passed by the Senate, the chief objections being the scanty population, the fact that no lands had been surveyed and sold in the region, and the fact that the people there had not requested such organization. Another attempt was made during the following session through the efforts of Stephen A. Douglas, who introduced a bill into the Senate; but, although it received some consideration, Congress adjourned without passing it.[20] In the meantime, the state of Wisconsin had been admitted with the St. Croix as its western boundary. This situation apparently left the people who lived between the St. Croix and the Mississippi without political organization, and caused these pioneers to assert what they regarded as their rights to political organization and to representation in Con-

[19] *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 3:265, 267. Sibley's commissions as justice of peace, dated October 30, 1838, January 19, 1839, and July 17, 1840, are in the Sibley Papers.

[20] The progress of the bills may be traced in the *Congressional Globe,* 29 Congress, 2 session, 71, 441, 445, 572; 30 Congress, 1 session, 656, 1052.

gress. A convention was held at Stillwater on August 26, 1848; petitions were sent to Congress and the president asking for territorial organization; and Sibley was elected "delegate" from what the convention called Minnesota Territory "to represent the interests of the Territory at Washington."[21] Shortly after this convention someone conceived the idea of regarding the region as Wisconsin Territory, after the part of that territory east of the St. Croix had been admitted as a state. The obliging former secretary of the Territory of Wisconsin, John Catlin, came to Stillwater and, as acting governor, issued writs for a special election for delegate to Congress from Wisconsin Territory. Although Sibley lived west of the Mississippi and therefore outside of the region under consideration, nevertheless he was chosen delegate to represent the territory in Congress and to secure the organization of Minnesota Territory. This plan was actually carried through; Sibley was seated and secured the desired organization in 1849.[22]

Although time does not permit us to trace the beginnings of political parties in Minnesota or to sketch the story of the marvelous growth of the territory after the negotiation of the Sioux treaties of 1851, one at least, of the foremost questions during Sibley's congressional career, which extended from 1848 to 1852, deserves consideration in any study of his work or of the frontier problems. That is the question of Indian relations on the frontier. Sibley lived among the Indians for fifteen years and knew the working of the Indian policy of the government better than any other man then in Congress. He made eloquent appeals in behalf of the Indian; and his proposed solution of the problem foreshadows the constructive legislation of later years.[23] In particular, Sibley

[21] The proceedings of this convention are published in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1: 55–59 (1872 edition).

[22] *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1: 61 (1872 edition); *Congressional Globe,* 30 Congress, 2 session, 137, 259, 485, 681.

[23] *Congressional Globe,* 31 Congress, 1 session, part 1, p. 855; *Statutes at Large,* 16: 566.

warned Congress that the only alternative to a change in policy was an Indian war. "The busy hum of civilized communities," he said, "is already heard far beyond the mighty Mississippi. . . . Your pioneers are encircling the last home of the red man, as with a wall of fire. Their encroachments are perceptible, in the restlessness and belligerent demonstrations of the powerful bands who inhabit your remote western plains. You must approach these with terms of conciliation and of real friendship, or you must suffer the consequences of a bloody and remorseless Indian war. . . . The time is not far distant, when pent in on all sides and suffering from want, a Philip or a Tecumseh will arise to band them together for a last and desperate onset upon their white foes. . . . We know that the struggle in such case, would be unavailing on the part of the Indians, and must necessarily end in their extermination."[24] The system was not changed at that time and the consequences that Sibley had so accurately foretold came in the great Sioux uprising of 1862. It was Sibley to whom the Minnesota pioneers in their hour of need appealed to save them from the horrors of this Indian war.

Minnesota was admitted into the Union in 1858, and Sibley became its first governor. This was not a time of great prosperity because of the panic of 1857, and the administration was not an unqualified success. Sibley was made a good deal of a scapegoat over the "Five Million Dollar Loan" of state credit to railways.[25] This fiasco, together with the fact that the Republican party had had a very rapid growth since its organization in the territory in 1855, and the further fact that Sibley was a Douglas Democrat, meant that the days of his political career were numbered. He commanded expeditions against the Sioux from 1862 to 1865 and at the close of his military career retired to private life except for a term as a member of

[24] *Congressional Globe,* 31 Congress, 1 session, part 2, p. 1508. See also Sibley to H. S. Foote, February 15, 1850, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1:38 (1872 edition).

[25] For an account of this loan see William W. Folwell, "The Five Million Loan," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 15:189–214.

the state legislature many years later and for service as a regent of the University of Minnesota.[26] He died on February 18, 1891, universally mourned by the people of the great state for which he had labored so long and in the making of which he had taken such a distinguished part.

The aim of this paper has been not only to sketch the life of Sibley as a type, but also to attempt to portray, as he and other pioneers saw it, the gradual evolution of society and industry in the upper Mississippi country. The rapidity with which the West was settled is most vividly appreciated when viewed in terms of human life. In 1795, when Solomon Sibley came over the mountains to the first American frontier settlement northwest of the Ohio, the history of the great West was only in the period of beginnings. Before his son died, in 1891, the frontier had disappeared. When Sibley, in 1834, made his way into the region which became Minnesota, it was a typical fur-traders' frontier; when he died, Minnesota was a state with a population of almost one and one-half millions. The settlement and development of the region was so rapid that even those who witnessed it could scarcely realize the transformation that took place before their eyes. Sibley said in his later years that this transformation seemed to him "more like a pleasant dream than a reality."[27] But the work had been done. The labors of the pioneers to carve out of the wilderness a great state had been rewarded with success and the pioneer dreams had come true.

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[26] Much source material on the Sioux War of 1862–65 may be found in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, vol. 2 (St. Paul, 1899). There is a good secondary account in Frederick L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (New York, 1910).

[27] *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 3:276.

WAR HISTORY WORK IN MINNESOTA[1]

When the United States entered the World War, the Minnesota Historical Society, in common with other historical agencies the country over, considered ways and means whereby it might be of special service to the state and the nation. There appeared to be two kinds of wartime service which would come appropriately within the sphere of activity of such an institution: first, the dissemination of knowledge of the historical background of the war in order that the people of the state might understand more fully the issues at stake and that, understanding, they might contribute more vigorously to the winning of the war; and second, the collection and preservation of the materials for the history of Minnesota's contribution toward the winning of the war. It was soon recognized, however, that much of the needed educational work would be done by other agencies, both state and national, and that the society would find its special usefulness in the field of war history. For this reason, and also because the preservation of current material is one of its normal functions, the society, from the very beginning of American participation in the conflict, has been active both in the collection of local war history material through the usual channels and in the initiation and direction of a movement to prosecute the work on a large scale through the concerted efforts of citizens and communities throughout the state.

One of the first things which the society did was to enlarge the scope of its newspaper collection with special reference to war-time conditions and to provide facilities for making the war material in the papers readily available to investigators. To the long list of Minnesota newspapers already being

[1] A paper read at the twelfth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, St. Louis, May 9, 1919, somewhat revised and brought up to date.

received from all parts of the state, there were added a number of publications reflecting war-time opinions and conditions which differed from those set forth in the general run of papers. Files of papers published at the training camps where Minnesota men were gathered in numbers, together with a file of the *Stars and Stripes,* the official organ of the American Expeditionary Force, are among the more valued of the special war-time acquisitions of the newspaper department. In order that the great mass of local newspapers received and filed by the society during the period might be more readily usable as a war record, work was begun on a classified card index of all significant matters in these papers relating to local war activities and conditions.

Other departments were equally active. The library staff, normally charged as it is with the duty of securing copies or files of all Minnesota publications, other than newspapers, exercised increased vigilance in obtaining those books, pamphlets, and periodicals which were the direct product of war conditions. The manuscript department acquired a number of interesting collections of soldiers' letters and miscellany relating to the experiences of individual Minnesotans in the service. Some little ephemeral printed matter, including several hundred war posters, was collected by members of the staff in their comings and goings about St. Paul and Minneapolis and by the field agent of the society in his travels about the state. Through an arrangement with a photographer at Camp Dodge, and by gifts from interested persons, the society acquired a growing collection of individual and group photographs of Minnesota service men. A considerable number of souvenirs and trophies from the battlefields of France, in large part the gift of a World War veteran who is a member of the society, formed the nucleus of a permanent collection of war relics. As far as possible, these collections, or selections of representative material from them, were displayed in the museum both as interesting in themselves and as conveying to

the visiting public an idea of the character of war history material and of the importance of preserving it.

From the start it was realized that many of the state's war records, especially those of an ephemeral nature and those of purely local significance, would disappear unless the interest and coöperation of people in every community throughout the state were secured. The field agent of the society, therefore, in the course of visits made in some twenty counties during the war, undertook through articles in the local newspapers, by personal interviews with war workers, and by the enlisting of local collectors to ensure in some degree at least the preservation of the miscellaneous war records of these communities. The matter was also brought to the attention of widely distributed groups of people through papers read by representatives of the society at librarians' conventions and other gatherings. To promote the preservation of the records of the state's leading war agency, the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, the society in July, 1917, drew up a list of suggestions, copies of which the commission sent to all its county directors, together with letters asking them to observe the request of the historical society as an instruction from the commission.

It soon became evident, however, that a mere extension of the society's activities would not suffice, but that what was needed was something on the order of the familiar war-time "drive," conducted by a state-wide organization, specially created, named, and financed for the purpose. To fill this need the most obviously effective method of procedure was to secure the further coöperation of the public safety commission. Accordingly, after a thorough canvass of the local situation, and after an extended investigation of the work being done in other states, a plan was drawn up which was laid before the commission on August 27, 1918. It was suggested that the commission appoint a body to be known as the Minnesota War Records Commission; that this body effect the organization and direct the activities of county war records committees

through the appointment and instruction of a local representative, or county chairman, in every county in the state; and that an appropriation of one thousand dollars be made by the public safety commission to defray the expense of the work. It was understood that the society would permit its field agent to act as director of the proposed commission and would place at the commission's disposal its facilities for the care and preservation of the material collected. The plan was adopted and on October 8 the Governor appointed a body of twelve to serve as the Minnesota War Records Commission.[2]

Having met and organized on October 29 the commission adopted a plan of action which was shortly afterward elaborated and published in the form of a bulletin entitled *A Statewide Movement for the Collection and Preservation of Minnesota's War Records.* Broadly stated, the object of the commission is to collect and preserve, in state and county war records collections, all available material relating to Minnesota's part in the World War and to the altered course of life in Minnesota communities during the war period. The broadest possible interpretation is given to the phrase "war records"; no pertinent material, of whatever variety of origin, content, or form, is overlooked. Most easily recognized as war records, of course, are materials relating to the activities of Minnesotans in the service or associated in one or another capacity with the armed forces of the nation. Equal importance is attached, however, to records which show the part played by the people at home in mobilizing the state's resources in support of the war. For compiling the service records of all Minnesota soldiers, sailors, and marines, the commission has provided blank forms, or questionnaires, calling for specific information about the individual's military or naval career and about his civil status before and immediately following his term of service. For the history both of individual and of group services, and especially of the innumerable home com-

[2] A brief account of the establishment of the commission appeared in the November BULLETIN (2:579).

munity war activities, the commission lays great stress upon the importance of collecting "ready-made" records, that is, material which was produced in connection with the actual conduct of the various war activities and has only to be gathered and preserved. Not all this material is commonly thought of as "records" but many of the facts of Minnesota's war history will never be available to the historian except as they are found recorded without premeditation in such products of the times as files of local newspapers; miscellaneous printed matter, such as pamphlets, programs, and posters; manuscript material, such as minutes of proceedings, correspondence files, and official reports; pictorial records, such as photographs, motion picture films, sketches, and maps; and mementoes or museum material, such as badges, flags, trophies, and relics.

The better to accomplish its purpose the commission has adopted the plan followed in a number of other states of organizing local auxiliary committees, as a general rule on the basis of county divisions. In a given county, for example, a local representative, or county chairman, is appointed by the commission upon the recommendations of local residents. The county chairman, in turn, appoints a county war records committee, and further extends the organization of his county according to the particular needs of that community. On the basis of instructions then or later to be given by the commission, the county organization then proceeds with the work of assembling all available material relating to the part taken by that county in the war. Both in the work of organization and in that of collection the commission aims to keep in close touch with the county committee, offering suggestions and encouragement and receiving reports from time to time on the progress of the work.

The general plan for the disposition of material collected by the war records organization contemplates the building up of both county and state collections. County committees are encouraged to preserve such of the records collected by them

as are chiefly local in character in a county war records collection housed in the leading county library, the courthouse, or other suitable local depository. On the other hand, to the state collection would naturally come all records of state-wide significance, including those emanating from the state headquarters of the various war agencies, together with such duplicate local material as may be received from the county committees. All records acquired by the commission are deposited, as they accumulate, in the library and museum of the Minnesota Historical Society.

In carrying out its program the principal effort of the commission thus far has been to extend its organization to all parts of the state. At the present time county committees have been organized and are at work in sixty-eight counties. The movement has everywhere met with a gratifying response. The tone and content of replies to the preliminary inquiries from the commission usually indicate a general recognition of the importance of the work, and a willingness, in some cases even amounting to eagerness, to coöperate in it. The commission has experienced little difficulty in securing the services of people of standing and ability as its local representatives; the list of county chairmen includes the names of local historians, school men, bankers, county officials, military men, editors, merchants, and lawyers. County committees averaging about fifteen members, usually leaders in war work, from all parts of the county, have been organized by the chairmen under the direction of the commission. A number of the committees have received from local residents, organizations, city councils, and county boards, sums of money ranging from one hundred and twenty-five to one thousand dollars to cover the cost of stationery and postage, clerk hire, binding, filing equipment, and other requirements for an effective conduct of the work. Various local organizations and institutions, including schools, churches, newspapers, and of late, associations of returned soldiers have shown a disposition to coöperate with the war records organization.

Of course the county committees attack their problems with varying degrees of vigor and resourcefulness. Their work, being for the most part voluntary, is subject to interruptions and delays, and as a rule, proceeds slowly. A great deal naturally depends upon the chairman's understanding of the problem and his ability and determination to find ways and means of getting the work done. In some cases, it must be admitted, the simplest instructions of the commission appear to have been but partially mastered and carried into effect, while on the other hand a number of chairmen and committees have elaborated the commission's necessarily general directions in ways suggested by their superior knowledge of local possibilities and needs. In a number of instances, the chairman, recognizing the size and importance of the task to be accomplished, has carried the organization of the county to the remotest townships and villages, accomplishing this purpose either in person or by means of letters enclosing printed instructions, blank forms, and other matter prepared by him or by his committee. There are instances also of county chairmen and committees collecting certain classes of material not specifically named in the commission's fairly elaborate exposition of what is meant by "war records." One chairman has been unusually successful in finding ways and means to catch the public eye and give the movement prestige: he has made use of hand bills distributed throughout the county and of motion picture advertisements bearing requests for war history material; he has published appeals through the local newspapers and has addressed public gatherings on the subject; he has secured the endorsement of the board of county commissioners for the work of his committee and has induced that board to appropriate one thousand dollars for its support. That he has been successful in popularizing the work is indicated by the fact that the county's military service records are not being typed, as is often the practice in other counties, because the citizens desire the honor of compiling these records in their own handwriting. His committee is also one of sev-

eral which are planning to publish histories of the parts taken by their counties in the prosecution of the war. It is the purpose of one committee to make of its county war records collection a permanent memorial of the war services performed by that community in lieu of a monument or other type of memorial.

The local committees, almost without exception, are applying themselves particularly to the compilation of the individual military service records for which printed forms have been supplied by the commission. In most cases these records are being filled out in duplicate, one set for the state war records collection, the other, for the county collection. Next in favor with the local workers appears to be the collection of soldiers' photographs and letters, files of local newspapers, and written reports on the activities of the several local war agencies. In the case of photographs, the planning and staging of public exhibits has proved an especially effective method of assembling such material for permanent preservation, a collection of about four thousand photographs of soldiers and views of wartime scenes having been acquired in this manner by one of the city committees acting in coöperation with other local organizations. A number of committees have been very successful in their efforts to secure complete files of all local newspapers published during the war, and some of them have commenced the work of indexing the files or of making up scrapbooks of clippings taken from duplicate files. There is undoubtedly a tendency to overlook some of the less obviously significant or pertinent material, especially among the so-called ready-made records, but there is ample evidence that a considerable amount of valuable materials of all kinds has been secured.

Although preoccupied, especially during the first few months, with the work of organizing and directing its local committees, the commission has given attention to the direct acquisition of material which, with the regular and special accumulations of the historical society, is to form the state war

records collection.[3] In this direction the most notable results of late weeks have been accomplished with the assistance of a field agent whose services were loaned to the commission during May and June by the historical society and who has since been employed by the commission as its permanent field representative. Through him the commission has been able to follow up published and written appeals with a personal canvass of the state headquarters of nearly all the leading national agencies such as the food administration, the fuel administration, the war loan organization, the United States Employment Bureau, the army, navy, and marine recruiting stations, the American Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A. War Council, the American Protective League, and the Salvation Army. The offices of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, the Home Guard and Motor Corps, the University of Minnesota, and the William Hood Dunwoody Industrial Institute have also been canvassed. Among other significant material yielded by this preliminary and as yet uncompleted survey may be noted: a quantity of pamphlets, posters, circular letters, blank forms, and other publicity material and working paraphernalia of the several war agencies; original manuscript records such as the correspondence files of the Minnesota branch of the Y. M. C. A. War Council; a list of the names of all marines who enlisted in Minnesota in 1917 and 1918, together with the dates of enlistment and names and addresses of the nearest of kin; a collection of several hundred photographs of men who enlisted in the army at Minnesota recruiting stations; and copies of all chapter histories prepared by the county and local branches of the Red Cross in Minnesota so far as these histories have been completed and filed at the northern division headquarters. Unfortunately for local historical interests a most important class of records, the original files and official records of the state branches of federal war

[3] The general character of this phase of the commission's activities is brought out in the notes on war history activities which have appeared in the BULLETIN beginning with the February, 1919, issue.

agencies such as the food administration, are destined under existing laws and regulations to be deposited in the national archives, and a great many of them have already been sent to Washington. In the belief that such records would be more useful if left in the custody of the state where they originated, the commission has joined with similar bodies in other states in a movement to persuade Congress to direct their return to states applying for them and in a position, as is Minnesota, to care for them properly.

The magnitude of the work undertaken by the commission and the desirability of placing it on a more permanent and substantial footing than was possible at the start early became apparent. The sudden ending of the war soon after the commission was established opened up possibilities and created demands with which this provisional body, without funds of its own, could not deal in the most effective manner. As the work proceeded it appeared desirable not only that the collecting of war records be accelerated and expanded but also that the state provide for the preparation and publication of a suitable memorial record of the part which its citizens played, individually and collectively, in the war. In January the public safety commission set aside another thousand dollars for the war records work, but only that it might be carried forward until the legislature, then recently convened, should have an opportunity to make more adequate and permanent provision for the carrying out of so extensive a program. During the period of the legislative session, therefore, the commission was occupied to a large extent with measures taken to secure the enactment of laws which, as already noted in these pages,[4] have resulted in the establishment of the commission as a statutory body with a fund of ten thousand dollars for the work of this biennium, and in the opening up of local sources of revenue to the county committees working under its direction. The newly established commission met and organized

[4] In the May BULLETIN (3:102).

on July 19.[5] Although directed among other things to prepare and publish a comprehensive state war history, work upon which it was hoped could be commenced at once, the commission will necessarily devote itself during the next two years to the large and more immediately important task of collecting material. Whether or not the projected history will be published depends upon the action taken by future legislatures.

It is not to be understood that the commission and the historical society are the only agencies in Minnesota which are active in the field of local war history. The pictorial section of the historical branch of the war plans division of the general staff of the United States Army, for example, has its local representatives in Minnesota and other states who are collecting photographic material for the national archives. The University of Minnesota has employed a clerk to compile and collect records relating to war services of the university, its teachers, students, and alumni. The Minnesota Educational Association has compiled and published a roster of school men in the service. The Catholics of the state are perfecting an organization for war history work under the direction of the National Catholic War Council. Some twenty-four local newspaper publishers are known to have issued or to be planning the publication of county war histories as private ventures. These are but a few instances of many projects which have been initiated independently of the war records organization. The province of the latter, aiming as it does to cover all phases of Minnesota's war history, is, so far as possible, to coördinate all efforts put forth in this field, to encourage all worthy projects whatever their origin and management, and in general to see that all the possibilities are fully realized.

Franklin F. Holbrook

Minnesota War Records Commission
St. Paul

[5] See *post*, p. 157.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A Report on the Public Archives (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Bulletins of Information,* no. 94). By Theodore C. Blegen. (Madison, the society, November, 1918. 115 p.)

Although designed primarily to further a movement for improving the archives situation in Wisconsin, this report is a valuable contribution to knowledge of archival practices and problems in general. About half of the space is devoted to a survey of European and American practices as a basis for conclusions with reference to archival administration. The scientific care given to public records in Europe and even in Canada is contrasted with the haphazard provision or lack of provision for them by the United States and by many of the individual states. Nevertheless notable progress is seen in some states during the last quarter century. Three forms of procedure with reference to archives administration in the American states are distinguished: (1) care of the departmental records in the offices in which they originate, with the office of the secretary of state as the repository for the more important general records; (2) centralization "in the custody of some department or institution of the state already in existence"; and (3) centralization in "an entirely distinct and separate department of archives." Examples of each of these methods are described and the author reaches the conclusion that the third, as exemplified by the archives departments of Alabama, Mississippi, and Iowa, is the most satisfactory.

The second part of the report is "an examination of the situation [in Wisconsin] and a proposed solution." The author finds that Wisconsin's state archives are housed in the main in thirty-nine vaults scattered in different parts of the already crowded New Capitol. At the rate of current accumulation these vaults will soon be filled up and additional space will have to be provided. It is suggested, moreover, "that it would be better to use less expensive space for the purpose of storing the archives than that of this most expensive of Wisconsin's public buildings." The

removal of the older archives to some central depository would not only increase the space available for records in daily use, but would also relieve state officials of the problems connected with archives administration for which they are not especially fitted and make possible the solution of those problems by trained archivists. Among the evils of unscientific management which are pointed out and illustrated by examples are inadequate classification and arrangement, lack of indexes, lost and misplaced documents, intentional destruction of non-current records which have historical value, and carelessness in allowing access to material of a delicate personal character.

Since the State Historical Society of Wisconsin is also in need of additional space, particularly for its files of newspapers and printed documents, the report advocates, as a solution of both problems, the erection of a plain, economical, but fireproof building in the vicinity of the library and the housing therein of a state archives department, to be created, and the newspaper and document departments of the society's library. The building could be so designed as to permit of almost indefinite expansion to care for the accumulations of the future, which is not true of either the society's building or the Capitol.

For the administration of the archives it is proposed that use be made of "the professional skill and training of the superintendent and staff of the State Historical Society," but no suggestions are made as to what should be the exact relations between the two institutions. If it is contemplated that the archives be administered as a branch or department of the society's activities, which would seem to be the most logical method of coördination, then the solution would be of the second, rather than the third and preferred type of procedure with reference to archives, as set forth in the first part of the report. This, in the opinion of the reviewer, is not a serious objection to the proposed arrangement. It seems to him that too much is made of the distinctions between the various forms of archives organization. The essential things are that there be an archives office, bureau, branch, department, or whatever it may be called, that the non-current archives of the various departments be centralized under its jurisdiction, that it be under the immediate direction of a competent

archivist, and that it have adequate quarters and sufficient funds for equipment and assistants. It is not difficult to conceive of a department of archives in a state library or historical society or even in the office of a secretary of state which would fulfill all reasonable requirements, and it is very easy to conceive of an entirely independent archives bureau which would be utterly inadequate for the task. The states should be graded according to the progress which they have made in centralization and scientific administration of archives rather with reference to the types of organization which local considerations may have induced them to adopt. In Wisconsin, and also in Minnesota where the situation is much the same, the reviewer believes that the ultimate solution of the problem should be the establishment of an archives department administered by the state historical society.

Mention should be made of the appendix to the report, which consists of the most comprehensive bibliography in existence of "printed materials on the archives question."

SOLON J. BUCK

The Movement for Statehood, 1845–1846 (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Collections,* vol. 26, *Constitutional* series, vol. 1). Edited by MILO M. QUAIFE. (Madison, the society, 1918. 545 p.)

The histories of Wisconsin and Minnesota down to 1848 are so inextricably interwoven and since that date the two commonwealths have developed so largely along parallel lines that many of the publications of the Wisconsin Historical Society are contributions to the history of Minnesota. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that there is so little of specific Minnesota interest in this volume, which deals with a period when all Minnesota east of the Mississippi was a part of Wisconsin Territory. The problem of the northwestern boundary, which involved so much of importance for the future Minnesota, apparently attracted very little attention until after the assembling of the first convention in October, 1846. In later volumes of the series this problem will unquestionably occupy a more prominent position. It is primarily, then, as an example of a collection of materials

for the history of the statehood movement in a typical state of the upper Mississippi Valley that the work is of interest to students of Minnesota history.

The "Historical Introduction" consists of a brief statement by the editor, a chapter on "The Admission of Wisconsin to Statehood" from a manuscript history of Wisconsin to 1848, by Louise Phelps Kellogg, and a reprint from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of Frederic L. Paxson's article entitled "Wisconsin—A Constitution of Democracy." The documents themselves are divided into two parts: "Official Proceedings and Debates," and "Popular Proceedings and Debates." The first part is again divided into "Proceedings in Wisconsin" and "Proceedings in Congress." The second part consists entirely of editorials and communications reprinted from the files of ten territorial newspapers. The selections are grouped by papers and arranged chronologically within the group.

Editorial apparatus has been reduced to a minimum. Scarcely half a dozen explanatory footnotes are included in the volume although the documents contain allusions to many matters about which pertinent, useful, and interesting information might have been supplied. Since only the date and not the name of the paper is given at the head of each selection in the second part, the student who locates matter in which he is interested by means of the index finds it necessary to hunt for the beginning of the group or to refer to the table of contents in order to ascertain the source. The reviewer believes that the volume would have been both more convenient for students and more interesting to the general reader if the documents had all been arranged in one chronological order. Without such arrangement it is difficult to get a clear comprehension of the relation of documents to each other or a satisfactory impression of the progress of events. Time is after all the warp upon which the fabric of history is woven.

S. J. B.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The failure of the legislature to increase the appropriation for the society made it impossible for the executive committee to draw up a satisfactory budget for the year 1919–20 without seriously curtailing the society's activities. Nearly everything for which the money is spent costs more than it did two years ago—printing, supplies, express, books, and especially services. Such small increases in salary as were absolutely necessary to prevent the staff from disintegrating were made possible only by dropping the position of field agent, by reducing the already inadequate allowance for the purchase of books, and by making the assignments for other expenses so low as to necessitate the most rigid economy.

The following new members have been enrolled during the quarter ending July 31, 1919: Frederic K. Butters, Archibald A. Crane, Miriam M. Davis, and Luth Jaeger of Minneapolis; John V. Trembath of Duluth; and Mrs. W. J. Morehart of Mankato. The society has lost two members by death during the same period: Joseph H. Armstrong of St. Paul, May 30; and the Honorable James A. Tawney of Winona, June 12. The death of another member, Patrick Keigher of St. Paul, which occurred on January 31, has not heretofore been noted in the BULLETIN.

As a result of the Archives Act of 1919, which is printed in full in the appendix to the society's *Twentieth Biennial Report* (pp. 50–52), the society now has the official custody of practically all the archives of the governor's office from the organization of the territory in 1849 to about 1869. This material, with the exception of the bound volumes of executive registers, had hitherto been packed away in a sub-basement vault in the Capitol where it was practically inaccessible. The manuscript department, which has been charged with the care of archives until such time as a separate archives department can be established,

has made considerable progress in the work of cleaning, pressing, and arranging the papers. They were in great confusion when received.

Another large lot of archival material received consists of the records of the surveyors-general of logs and lumber for the first and second districts. These offices were recently abolished, their functions being turned over to the state forestry service, and it is doubtful if the records, which had been stored in unsuitable places in Minneapolis and Stillwater, would have been preserved had it not been for the activity of the society in the matter. Since their acquisition they have been consulted by state officials.

The centennial of the establishment of Fort Snelling in 1819 is being observed in the museum by a special exhibit of pictures and articles illustrative of life and conditions at the fort during the various stages of its history. Other special exhibits recently prepared illustrate the customs of the French people, the work of the Minnesota Motor Corps, and the artcraft work of the wounded soldiers in the hospital at Fort Snelling.

"Indians at War and at Play" and "Indian Myths and Legends" were the subjects of the talks at the children's history hours in May. Pictures, relics, and Indian music were used to illustrate the stories. On June 7 the children were told about the history of Fort Snelling and shown the centennial exhibit.

The contract has been let for the printing of Dr. Upham's work on "Minnesota Geographic Names," which is to comprise volume 17 of the society's *Collections*. It will be a book of about seven hundred pages and will be ready for distribution about the end of the year.

Three members of the staff left the service of the society June 30, the close of the fiscal year. Miss Franc M. Potter, who had been assistant editor since 1915, resigned to accept a position in the registrar's office of the University of Minnesota, and Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook, who had been field agent for three years, resigned to become the secretary of the Minnesota War Records Commission. The other resignation was that of Miss Teresa Fitzgerald of the catalogue department. Appoint-

ments taking effect July 1 were those of Miss Dorothy Heinemann as editorial assistant, and Miss Ada Liddell as catalogue apprentice.

Gifts

When the editor is away, the printer will play. The first line of one of the gift notes in the May Bulletin, the second note on page 96, is a duplicate of a line on the preceding page which somehow was substituted for the line as originally set up. The first sentence of this note should be corrected to read: From Mr. Fred L. Chapman of St. Paul the society has received a considerable number of manuscripts and museum objects.

A small but valuable collection of archives of various organizations and a few papers of Henry L. Moss, who was the first United States district attorney for Minnesota Territory, have been presented recently by Mrs. Albert P. Moss of St. Paul. The archives consist of record books of the Babies' Home of St. Paul from 1890 to 1900, of the St. Paul Red Cross aid society of 1898, and of the Ladies' Auxiliary of St. Paul from 1901 to 1907. The last named society was organized in 1898 through the efforts of Mr. Conde Hamlin, president of the Commercial Club, with the stated purpose of increasing municipal patriotism in St. Paul. Among the Moss Papers the most important is the report of William Holcombe, chairman of a committee appointed by the Stillwater convention of 1848 to report to Henry H. Sibley the statistics of St. Croix County for that year, the report to be used by Sibley in urging upon Congress the organization of Minnesota Territory. Mrs. Moss has also deposited in the museum a number of handsome specimens of old fashioned costumes and costume accessories. Examples of various types of fans, several quaint bonnets of early dates, a red plush dolman, and a pompadour silk dress worn about 1830, are some of the most interesting of these articles.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Charles J. P. Young of St. Paul, the military papers of Colonel Josias R. King, who claimed the distinction of being the first volunteer of the Civil War, have been presented by his widow, Mrs. Mary Louisa King. These

papers consist of the various commissions received by Colonel King, a summary of his military record, a manuscript prepared in 1914 for the State Historical Society of North Dakota on the Sully expedition of 1863, and a number of miscellaneous papers and newspaper clippings regarding incidents in his personal career. Mrs. King has also presented two pistols and a uniform used by Colonel King in the Civil War.

From Colonel Jeremiah C. Donahower of St. Paul the society has received a three volume manuscript narrative of the Civil War based in part on his personal experience as a member of the Second Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, also an account of the march of companies D and E of this regiment to Yellow Medicine in July, 1861, and a number of miscellaneous papers, letters, and commissions. Museum material presented by Colonel Donahower includes a piece of Civil War hard tack, numerous badges, stamps, and coins, and an oil painting of the battle of Chickamauga.

Mr. John F. Hayden of Minneapolis has presented an interesting manuscript account of the relief expedition sent from St. Peter to New Ulm at the time of the Sioux outbreak, and of the subsequent siege of that town by the Indians. The account was written in 1897 by Mr. Hayden's father, William G. Hayden, who in company with Acting Lieutenant Governor Swift drove to New Ulm on the afternoon of August 22, 1862, and remained there until the town was abandoned, and then accompanied the refugees to St. Peter. His description of the siege is quite detailed and very realistic.

Mrs. Julius E. Miner of Minneapolis has presented a collection of World War letters written by her brother Brigadier General Le Roy Upton covering nearly two years of service in France. General Upton was awarded the distinguished service medal by General Pershing for conspicuous ability in commanding the Ninth Infantry before Chateau Thierry and the Fifty-seventh Brigade in the campaign north of Verdun. He also received the distinguished service cross and the *croix de guerre*. His letters are intensely interesting. They recount his experiences

as commander in the trenches and give many entertaining sketches of both the usual and the unusual events in the life of an officer overseas.

The society has received from the estate of Mrs. Abbey Fuller Abbe, through the courtesy of her niece, Miss Abby Fuller, the original bids and contracts for the erection of the first city hall of St. Paul in 1856. Albert Fuller, a brother of Mrs. Abbe, and George Scott, contractors, were the successful bidders for the building and the contract price, seven thousand dollars, was to be paid in city bonds running from ten to twenty years and bearing twelve per cent interest payable semiannually.

From Mr. Victor E. Lawson of Willmar, the society has received a blueprint copy of an interesting article entitled "St. Anthony's Falls in 1866" written by Mr. Walter Stone Pardee for the reunion of the Junior Pioneers of St. Anthony's Falls in 1918. In this article Mr. Pardee has drawn a vivid pen picture of the village as it was in those early days, bringing out such landmarks as the Winslow House, the white schoolhouse, the old stone store, and the suspension bridge. He has brought to life again the leading men and women of the community and has told of the various activities and amusements of the small boy and youth. His description of the falls in high water is especially noteworthy and helps the reader of this generation to appreciate the splendor of a scene that has long since disappeared.

A manuscript map of a portion of northeastern Minnesota, covering the region between Leech Lake and Mille Lacs and extending eastward to the vicinity of Duluth, is a very desirable gift received from Mr. Charles H. Baker of Zellwood, Florida. This map was made by Alfred J. Hill in 1870 for the use of Mr. Baker, who was employed by an eastern syndicate to explore northern Minnesota and prospect for iron ore. At that time the presence of iron ore in the state was only rumored and the "Upper Country" was the wilderness home of a few scattered Indian families. Its geographic features were little known to white men and Mr. Hill, then employed in the surveyor general's

office, was one of the few men capable of making a useful sketch of this region.

Mr. Harry Trevor Drake of St. Paul has presented a manuscript genealogy of the Spining family compiled by himself and the Reverend George Laurence Spining of South Orange, New Jersey. The work is in twelve volumes, each devoted to one branch of the family. Full records of the descendants of Stephen Wheeler, Benjamin Morris, Jabez Bruen, Henry Drake, Enos Case, Joseph Watkins, and the Reverends Peter and David Monford are also to be found in this genealogy.

A crayon portrait of the late Robert C. Dunn of Princeton has been transferred from the office of the state auditor to the portrait collection of the society. Mr. Dunn was state auditor from 1895 to 1903, and served several terms as a representative in the legislature.

A portrait in pastel of Colonel Joseph Bobleter has been received from Mrs. Joseph Bobleter of New Ulm. Colonel Bobleter was born in Austria in 1846, came to America in 1858, and died in 1909. He served in both the Civil and Spanish-American wars, was postmaster at New Ulm for thirteen years, served as a representative in the legislature in 1884, and held the office of state treasurer from 1887 to 1895. The encampment of the Minnesota National Guard at Fort Snelling in 1916 preparatory to service on the Mexican border was named Camp Bobleter in his honor.

Miss Helen Castle of St. Paul has presented a group picture of the members of the first state editorial convention held in Minnesota in 1867 and a set of individual photographs of nine of Minnesota's governors.

Three hundred and eighty-three photographs of scenes and buildings in St. Paul and Minneapolis have been received from Mr. Edward A. Bromley of Minneapolis. These pictures, which were taken between 1908 and the present time, are excellent illustrations of the growth of the cities during that period. Other photographs of historical interest recently presented by Mr.

Bromley include a picture of the officers of the third battalion of the Thirteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, one of the reunion of the Eighth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in 1891, and a view of St. Paul in 1868.

Colonel John P. Nicholson of Philadelphia has added to the numismatic collection in the museum a paper ten dollar bill and a paper one dollar bill which were issued in New York in 1775 and 1776.

A noteworthy collection of World War specimens has been deposited in the museum by Mr. Alonzo F. Carlyle of St. Paul, who was on the French front as a Y. M. C. A. secretary for several months. Among the very interesting German items are a private's helmet, canteens of both officers and privates, an officer's field glass, a Lugger, an automatic 32, an Iron Cross, a private's tassel of citation for bravery, and a diary of a German private. A French pistol, and French gas mask, a Verdun medal, and works of art made by French soldiers during their leisure near the front lines, are some of the interesting French pieces. The collection also contains a trench spade, a cartridge belt, and a bayonet, used by the Americans. Mr. Carlyle has supplied information about the specimens which adds materially to their historical value.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Irene G. Crosby, head reconstruction aid in the hospital at Fort Snelling, the surgeon general of the United States has turned over to the society's museum a representative collection of articles made by wounded soldiers while in the hospital. The collection includes examples of various types of baskets, bead chains, toys, hammered brass and copper jewelry, knitted scarfs and bags, and woven table runners and rugs with the looms and rakes upon which they were made. The articles are accompanied by the names and service records of the makers, most of whom are Minnesota boys.

The society is indebted to the St. Paul Association for an immense service flag, which has been hung on the stair landing near the entrance into the museum. This flag bears a gold star for every Minnesota man who was known to have lost his life

in the service during the World War up to April 1, 1919—about twelve hundred. Twelve banners bearing the names of engagements in which Minnesota men took part during the war have also been presented by the association. Both the banners and the flag were carried in a parade in connection with the Victory Loan campaign in St. Paul.

Mr. Raymon Bowers of Gladstone, Minnesota, formerly a member of the society's staff, has presented to the museum several pictures and specimens relating to the World War. A French signal pistol is one of the most interesting of the items.

Seven valuable French war posters have been presented to the society by Mr. John C. Brown through the courtesy of Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock of Minneapolis. Mr. Brown was with the University of Minnesota unit in Base Hospital No. 26 in France.

A German gas mask is one of the interesting items in a collection of World War specimens and pictures presented by Major James C. Ferguson of St. Paul. Major Ferguson was with the American Expeditionary Force as a member of the medical corps.

A wooden shoe with a paper fibre top and a coarse shirt, of the kinds provided for Italian prisoners in Austria, have been added to the war exhibits in the museum by Mr. Paul J. Thompson of Minneapolis. Mr. Thompson was in the Y. M. C. A. service in Italy.

NEWS AND COMMENT

"The War" will have to be Minnesota's excuse for failing to stage this month a celebration of the centennial of her birth as an American community. Over three years ago, in its issue for May, 1916, the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN called attention to the fact that the arrival of troops for the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Minnesota River in 1819 was the real beginning of American occupation of the region and suggested that if a centennial celebration was to be undertaken, plans should be worked out as soon as possible. Preoccupation in the problems of the war period, however, made any such procedure impracticable, and nothing more was heard about the centennial until after the armistice was signed.

The next suggestion for a celebration came from the Minneapolis society known as the Native Sons of Minnesota, which, at its meeting on February 5, 1919, arranged for a committee to promote "a movement to commemorate the centennial of the founding of Fort Snelling with a mammoth military pageant and civic celebration." It was planned, according to the newspaper report, "to have the Legislature appropriate sufficient funds to insure the success of the celebration." The committee of the Native Sons attended a meeting of the council of the Minnesota Historical Society on February 24 and requested the coöperation of the society in the movement. The council endorsed the general proposition that the centennial should be observed and indicated its willingness to coöperate in any feasible way. So far as is known, no attempt was made to secure an appropriation from the legislature.

The idea had its next revival on June 2 when the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* called attention editorially to the rapidly approaching centennial and suggested a celebration postponed for a year or two in order to allow a reasonable amount of time for preparation. For a week or more both the *Pioneer Press* and the *Dispatch,* by means of editorials and news items, strove valiantly, though not always with historical accuracy, to start the ball of

public interest rolling in the direction of a celebration. The subject was brought to the attention of the directors of the St. Paul Association of Public and Business Affairs by the newspaper men and by a letter from the superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society setting forth arguments in favor of a celebration. The president and general secretary of the association were appointed a committee to suggest to Governor Burnquist the creation of a state commission to arrange for a state-wide celebration in 1920 or 1921 and to inform him that the coöperation of the association could be counted upon. The whole matter was thus put into the hands of the Governor, who still has it under advisement. It is now certain that there will be no celebration in 1919. Whether or not one will be staged in 1920 or 1921 remains to be seen.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its twelfth annual meeting in St. Louis, May 8, 9, and 10. One session was devoted to World War history and consisted of a paper on "The Attitude of Swedish-Americans Toward the World War," by George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota, and reports on the war history activities of Iowa, Texas, Louisiana, and Minnesota. Other papers of special interest to Minnesotans were "Henry Hastings Sibley and the Minnesota Frontier," by Wilson P. Shortridge of the University of Louisville, and "Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi After the Civil War," by Lester B. Shippee of the University of Minnesota. Milo M. Quaife of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was elected president of the association and Royal B. Way of Beloit College, Charles M. Ramsdell of the University of Texas, and Solon J. Buck of the Minnesota Historical Society, new members of the executive committee. The next meeting will be held at Greencastle, Indiana, under the auspices of De Pauw University.

The *Thirty-first Report* of the commissioner of public records in Massachusetts (7 p.) indicates that that state considers it worth while to spend money to enforce the proper care and preservation of local archives. "Inspection of the care, custody, condition, and protection against fire of the public records of departments and offices of the counties, cities, and towns" was

made in 187 places during 1918. Records of eighteen towns or counties were "repaired, renovated, restored, or bound" by the expensive Emory process under orders of the commissioner. Three fires in town halls occurred during the year but no records were lost because they were in fireproof steel-fitted vaults, two of which had been provided by order of the commissioner. When the western states are as old as Massachusetts they too may begin to realize the importance of such things.

A movement has been started looking toward greater coöperation among the large libraries of the Twin Cities. Two meetings have been held of those in charge of the work of the Minneapolis and St. Paul public, James J. Hill Reference, university, state, and historical society libraries, and of the library division of the state department of education, which has taken over the functions of the Minnesota Public Library Commission. The first of these meetings took the form of a luncheon and the second was held in the Historical Building. It is expected that they will be resumed in the fall. Many subjects of mutual interest are discussed at these conferences and they will undoubtedly be valuable to the institutions concerned, especially in preventing unnecessary duplication of collections. There is so much material to be collected and preserved that the libraries must to a certain extent endeavor to divide up the field.

The annual meeting of the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers' Association was held this year on May 10 since May 11, the anniversary of the admission of the state to the Union, fell on Sunday. About sixty members of the organization gathered in the Old Capitol, St. Paul, talked over old times, and listened to reminiscent addresses.

The Hennepin County Territorial Pioneers' Association held its annual meeting at the Godfrey House on May 31, the seventieth anniversary of the organization of Minnesota Territory. The names of members of the association who died during the year, with the dates of their arrival in Minnesota are published in the *Minneapolis Journal* of May 26. Both the *Journal* and the *Minneapolis Tribune* of June 1 contain accounts of the meeting and biographical notes about a few of the older members.

The forty-third annual reunion of the Dodge County Old Settlers' Association was held in Mantorville on June 17. A feature of the meeting was the reading of reminiscent papers contributed by Mantorville pioneers, many of whom now reside in other parts of the United States. These papers, together with a sketch of the founding and early history of Mantorville, were published in the *Mantorville Express* of June 27. Portraits of Peter and Riley Mantor, for whom the town was named, and pictures of historic buildings in the town illustrate this issue of the paper.

On the evening of June 9, the students of Hamline University, St. Paul, presented a pageant depicting events in the history of the university from its foundation at Red Wing in 1854 to the return of the Hamline World War veterans in 1919. The pageant was part of the sixty-first commencement program.

Two notable historical pageants were presented in Minnesota during the week of July 27 to August 2. The first, "Swords and Ploughshares," was the second annual midsummer pageant produced by the Minneapolis Civic Players. With the steps of the Minneapolis Art Institute for a stage, the growth of human freedom from primitive times until its culmination in the victory of democracy at the close of the World War was traced. The second pageant was the work of the Lake Minnetonka Woman's Club. Excelsior Commons and the lake were the setting for a series of episodes depicting events of significance in the history of this portion of Minnesota from the coming of Father Hennepin to the end of the World War. The proceeds from this pageant will be used in the erection of a clubhouse as a memorial to the Minnetonka men who died in the service.

The Minnesota division of the woman's committee of the Council of National Defense has issued a pamphlet entitled *Two Pageants* (22 p.). One of the pageants, "Minnesota Triumphant," arranged by Katherine Evans Blake, portrays ten phases of the history of the state, starting with the Indian period and concluding with the "Defense of Democracy." The other, "America," by Anna Augusta Helmholz-Phelan and C. G. Stevens, is a symbolic representation of the "ideas for which we stand."

The eighty-fourth anniversary of the founding of the First Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis was celebrated by the members on June 8 at Fort Snelling, where, in 1835, twenty-two pioneers organized this first Protestant congregation in Minnesota. A list of the first members taken from the original church records, is published as a part of the account of the commemoration exercises in the *Minneapolis Journal* of June 9. It includes the names of such famous men as Henry H. Sibley, who was the first clerk, Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond, and Thomas S. Williamson.

On May 18 the First Baptist Church of St. Paul celebrated the seventieth anniversary of the erection of the first church of this denomination in Minnesota and the arrival of its minister in St. Paul. This furnished the occasion for an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of that date containing historical notes about early Protestant churches and about Harriet E. Bishop who taught the first school in St. Paul.

Surface Formations and Agricultural Conditions of the South Half of Minnesota, by Frank Leverett and Frederick W. Sardeson (Minnesota Geological Survey, *Bulletins,* no. 13. 147 p.), is the third and final part of the report of the Minnesota and United States geological surveys, the first two parts of which were reviewed in the BULLETIN for May, 1915, and August, 1917 (1:59–61; 2:178–181). It treats the southern portion of the state in much the same way as the northwestern and northeastern sections were treated in the previous parts of the report.

"The Movement of American Settlers into Wisconsin and Minnesota," by Cardinal Goodwin, in the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* is a useful but by no means exhaustive compilation of data.

The history of the liquor traffic in Minnesota from the days of the first fur-trader to the present, is the subject of an interesting article by Thomas J. Malone in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of June 29. The title of the article, "Prohibition to Rule in Minnesota 67 Years after Voted by its People," is a reference to the so-called "Maine law" enacted by the territorial legislature in

1852 with the condition that it must be ratified by the people before going into effect. The "drys" carried the election, but the superior court of the territory held the law to be null and void on the ground that the act of Congress establishing the territory gave the legislature no power to delegate its authority to the people. Mr. Malone touches lightly upon many phases of his subject: the use of liquor by the Indians, the restrictive clauses in the Chippewa treaties and their recent enforcement, legislation for the regulation and restriction of the traffic, instruction in schools with reference to the effects of alcoholic liquors on the human system, and the careers of the various temperance and prohibition organizations. Pictures of early road houses and hotels noted for their bars and portraits of Minnesota prohibition leaders illustrate the article.

"Two Guns Paid for Nicollet Island" is the title of a brief article published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 26. It relates how the late Daniel E. Dow of Hopkins acquired in 1851 not only a claim to the island but also six steel traps and two frying pans in exchange for a shotgun and a pistol.

A number of articles by Fred A. Bill of St. Paul appear in recent issues of the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, in the section devoted to "The Old Boats." The deaths of Captain Henry F. Slocum of Winona and Captain William H. Simpson of Milwaukee, are the occasions for the publication of sketches of the river experiences of these men in the issues for May 10 and July 26. A report of a meeting of the Pioneer Rivermen's Association in St. Paul appears in the number for May 3.

An interesting article on logging on the Mississippi River is published in the *Minneapolis Journal* of May 18. It is illustrated with pictures of logging scenes and of some of the owner's marks by which the logs were identified.

An article by Judge John F. McGee entitled "First Minnesota's Historic Charge at Gettysburg," in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 29, commemorates the fifty-sixth anniversary of that event.

The announcement by Harper and Brothers that they are reprinting Ignatius Donnelly's *Atlantis,* the first edition of which was published in 1882, furnished the occasion for a sketch of his literary and political career in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of June 8. The sketch is illustrated with a portrait of Donnelly, which is reproduced from a pastel in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

In the series headed "State Builders of the West," the *Western Magazine* for July contains a sketch of "Lucius Frederick Hubbard, Ninth Governor of Minnesota."

An article on, "The Fire in the North Woods," by Henry A. Bellows, in the *Bellman* for June 14, portrays the events of last October in a vivid and illuminating manner. After a discussion of "How did it happen," Mr. Bellows describes the work of the Red Cross and the militia whose "courage and patience and cheerfullness" have commended those organizations to the world. The article is illustrated by excellent pictures of the devastated district.

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the valuable annual survey of "Historical Activities in the Old Northwest," by Arthur B. Cole.

In his autobiography, *The Iron Hunter* (New York, 1919. 316 p.), Chase S. Osborn, governor of Michigan from 1910 to 1912, presents an interesting narrative of his career as a newspaper editor and politician, and of his travels in visiting practically all the great iron mines of the world. Scattered through the narrative are chapters in which he deals with the development of the iron industry or sketches the history of some famous iron region. To this last group belongs the chapter on "The Mesaba Range in Minnesota, The Greatest Iron Ore District the World Has Ever Known." In a brief chronologically arranged sketch, the author traces the history of the range from its discovery by the Jesuits to the tardy realization of the commercial value of its ore deposits in the last decade of the nineteenth century. He concludes the chapter with a list of the larger independent mines whose owners compete with the United States

Steel Corporation and with figures showing the extent of ore production from the range up to the close of navigation in 1918.

Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg is retelling "The Story of Wisconsin, 1634–1848" in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Chapter 1 dealing with "Physical and Political Geography" and Chapter 2 entitled "The Red Men and the Fur Trade" are in the March and June issues respectively. "Cyrus Woodman: A Character Sketch," by Ellis B. Usher, is another article in the June number.

The scope of Ruth A. Gallaher's *Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa: An Historical Account of the Rights of Women in Iowa from 1838 to 1918,* published by the State Historical Society of Iowa (1918. xii, 300 p.), is well indicated in the title. It deals with the historical development of woman's status as a citizen, as distinguished from her status in society, in a state typical of the Northwest. While this portion of the United States has been more conservative than the extreme West in advancing the position of women, on the other hand, it has been far more progressive than the East or the South. Most of the laws and judicial decisions discussed are those which point out a distinction between men and women, rather than those which apply equally to men and to women. Miss Gallaher divides her book into two parts: one dealing with the growth of civil rights, the other with the development of the political rights of women. Civil rights are treated first, since, historically, women gained these rights first. The chapters on the development of equal suffrage are necessarily incomplete in a book published in 1918. The plan of the book is clearly defined, logical, and easy to follow. The notes, which form a separate section in the back of the book, are less convenient for general use than footnotes.

The legislature of North Dakota has appropriated the sum of two hundred thousand dollars to be used in erecting a building for the State Historical Society of North Dakota. The building will be located on the Capitol grounds at Bismark and will be so planned that additions can be made to it in the future.

The *Fargo Courier-News* is publishing, now and then, a series of articles entitled "Pioneer Stories of the Northwest." The

issue of May 11 contains an account of the naming of the Red River and that of July 13 the story of how Thomas H. Canfield selected the site of Fargo.

The South Dakota legislature has authorized the erection of a building on the Capitol grounds at Pierre as a memorial to the soldiers and sailors of the state in the World War. The building is to be financed by popular subscription and the governor, the adjutant general, and the secretary of the department of history are constituted a committee to raise the money, to plan the building, and to supervise its erection. Nothing is said in the act as to what use may be made of the building but it would seem to be eminently fitting that it should be used for the preservation of the state's war records and other historical material.

A *Nevada Applied History Series* has been inaugurated by the Nevada Historical Society with a little volume entitled *Taxation in Nevada, A History,* by Romanzo Adams (Carson City, 1918. 199 p.)

War History Activities

The Minnesota War Records Commission has been reorganized in accordance with the provisions of the law establishing it as a statutory body (*Laws,* 1919, ch. 284). The members of the new commission are as follows: the Honorable Gideon S. Ives, St. Paul, president of the Minnesota Historical Society; Guy Stanton Ford, Minneapolis, chairman of the department of history of the University of Minnesota; Brigadier General Walter F. Rhinow, St. Paul, adjutant general; James M. McConnell, St. Paul, state commissioner of education; Solon J. Buck, Minneapolis, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society; O. J. Larson, attorney, Duluth; Colonel George E. Leach, Minneapolis, former commander of the 151st United States Field Artillery; Henry W. Libby, Winona, secretary of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety; and Colin F. Macdonald, St. Cloud, publisher of the *St. Cloud Times.* The four first named are members *ex officio;* the others are appointees of the governor. At its organization meeting, July 19, the new commission elected officers and made appointments as follows: Solon J. Buck,

chairman; General Rhinow, vice-chairman; Franklin F. Holbrook, director of the original commission, secretary; and Cecil W. Shirk, field agent. An executive committee, consisting of the chairman and Messrs. Leach, Libby, and Ives was appointed to supervise the work of the commission during intervals between sessions of the main body. The commission authorized its agents to continue the work of collecting war records along the lines followed by the original commission, making use of and extending the subsidiary organization of county chairmen and committees already effected by that body.

An increasing number of county war records committees are taking advantage of the recently enacted law whereby county boards and other local governing bodies are authorized to appropriate funds in aid of the war records work in their several communities (*Laws*, 1919, ch. 228). The committees of Nobles and Polk counties have been granted seven hundred and fifty and five hundred dollars, respectively, of the county funds. The Stevens County board has appropriated three hundred dollars for the use of the local committee and, it is understood, will grant more as needed. The committees of Marshall and St. Louis counties have each received the legal maximum from the county board, one thousand dollars, and the St. Louis committee has secured from the city of Duluth an additional eight hundred and fifty dollars, to be expended for clerk hire at the rate of eighty-five dollars a month. At the instance of the war records committee in Rice County, the county board has passed a resolution inviting the several cities and villages of the county to contribute to the local war records work the full amounts authorized by law, which would make a total of two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, in addition to the thousand dollars already granted by the board from the county funds.

Signs of increasing activity in many of the counties organized for the collection of local war records continue to appear. The committees of Itasca, Mower, Rice, St. Louis, Stevens, and Yellow Medicine counties in their correspondence make use of specially prepared stationery, the Rice County committee, for example, using two letterheads; one showing the personnel,

officers, and committees of the county organization, and the other bearing the county board resolution mentioned above. All active committees continue to stress the work of compiling the military service records. Recent reports from Polk and Traverse counties indicate that an important share in this phase of the work is being taken by town clerks in the one and by rural school teachers in the other. Under the special directions from the county board, given when the board granted funds to the county war records committee, Marshall County is to have a permanent record, typewritten and in book form, of the individual services of the soldiers, sailors, and marines from that county. A number of county chairmen are giving a great deal of their own time to the work: the chairman of the Nobles County committee, for example, personally conducts the work from the headquarters in the county courthouse and is understood to have made great progress in his efforts to compile records of which the county may be proud. The Stevens County committee, and particularly its chairman, has shown unusual ability in identifying as "war records" relics and souvenirs of the war period including not only the more obvious kinds, such as posters, banners, buttons, and battlefield relics, but also such articles as sugar containers devised to facilitate the observance in public eating places of the government's war-time food regulations. The Beltrami County committee has followed the example of others mentioned in the May BULLETIN (p. 104) in planning to prepare and publish a county war history. A somewhat similar plan has been formulated in Polk County by an organization closely affiliated with the county war records committee there, the Nels T. Wold post of the American Legion (known before its absorption by that body as the Polk County branch of the World War Veterans).

To the list of projects for the publication of county war histories as private ventures, as noted in the BULLETIN for February and May (pp. 52, 104), the following may be added: Crow Wing County, C. E. Barnes of Deerwood; Fillmore County, *LeVang's Weekly;* Isanti County, *Cambridge North Star;* Kittson County, *Karlstad Advocate;* Le Sueur County, *Le Sueur News;* Nicollet County, *St. Peter Herald;* Stevens County, *Morris Tribune;* and Washington County, Buckbee-Mears Company, St.

Paul. In this connection a word may be said as to the relation of the Minnesota War Records Commission to such projects, inasmuch as the matter became the subject of controversy between the *Wells Mirror* (June 11, 18, 25) and the *Wells Forum-Advocate* (June 12, 19, 26), the publisher of the latter having undertaken to prepare and publish a war history of Faribault County, professedly with the endorsement of the commission. The attitude and policy of the commission as then formulated was expressed in part as follows: "It is in the work of collecting data and records, only, that the War Records Organization finds a point of contact with the many private projects for the publication of county war histories. . . . Both agencies, public and private, seek much the same kinds of material, though from different motives and for different uses, and coöperation between the two in the collection of this material may result to the advantage of both the war records collections and the histories, the exact course to be followed in each case being left to the discretion of the local committee. But the preparation, publication, advertising, and sale of the histories in question remains the private enterprise of the publishers who initiated and control these undertakings. . . . In no case has the commission authorized the use of its name in promoting any of these projects, though it recognizes that undoubtedly many Minnesota publishers have undertaken war history projects as much in the public interest as for the sake of financial profit and are entitled to as much assistance as citizens in their private capacity can give them."

In an article "On the Collection of State War History Material," which appeared in the *Wisconsin Memorial Day Annual* (Madison, 1919. 102 p.), Albert O. Barton, director of the Wisconsin War History Commission, elaborates the following observation upon the work of that commission's county committees: "In their cultivation of the local historical fields the committees have discovered many striking phenomena. The spirit of patriotism which has animated all our people has blossomed forth in original and inspiring manifestations. In fact, were the roll of counties called each could step forward, so to speak, and claim some peculiar distinction." One inference to be drawn from

this observation, which ought to serve as a stimulus to the efforts of similar committees everywhere, is that such distinctions appear in greater number and with greater clearness according to the thoroughness with which the several county agencies cover their respective fields. Until all the facts of a county's war history are assembled, who knows but that that county has unwittingly led all the others in one or more forms of patriotic service?

New publications established by or in the interests of returned service men which are currently received by the Minnesota War Records Commission include the *Northwestern Appeal,* published semimonthly, beginning May 6, at Minneapolis; the *Veteran,* published monthly, beginning in May, by the Bolo Club of Minneapolis; and the *American Legion Weekly,* beginning July 4, from the American Legion headquarters in New York City.

The first forty-four pages of the *Report* of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety (St. Paul, 1919. 319 pp.) sets forth in summary form the many activities in which the commission engaged as the state's leading war-time agency. The remainder of the volume is made up of documentary and statistical matter, including a report of the public examiner showing the commission's use of its funds during the period from April 16, 1917, to December 31, 1918; documents relating to the coal situation in the Northwest in the summer of 1917; the law creating the commission; injunctions and other papers connected with the question of the constitutionality of this law as tested in the courts; the by-laws, orders, and excerpts from the minutes of the commission; and lists of the names and addresses of local representatives showing the entire personnel and manner of organization of each of the county branches of the commission.

The concluding issue of the *Reveille* entitled a "Centennial Memorial of Fort Snelling" is devoted to a profusely illustrated resumé of the activities at the fort during the period from its conversion to reconstruction purposes, September 22, 1918, to August 1, 1919, together with pictorial and descriptive matter relating to its earlier history. A notable feature of the number is a series of drawings symbolical of such themes as "From Gettysburg to Flanders Fields," "These are Times That Try Men's Souls," and

"The Call to the New Life," the work of George Ericson, staff artist of the magazine.

An official account of the services of a regiment made up in part of men from Minnesota and other northwestern states appears in a pamphlet entitled *History Thirteenth Engineers (Railway) U. S. Army 1917–1918–1919* (Headquarters, Fleury-sur-Aire, France. 74 p.). Originally organized in connection with the Mexican trouble in 1916 as the Third Reserve Engineers, this regiment, now known as the "Lucky Thirteenth," was among the first units to be sent to France. There, for over two years, frequently under shell fire, it assisted in the operation of military railways along the western front. The official record of these services is followed by appendices containing statistics of losses, biographies of officers, and other pertinent matter.

The Minnesota War Records Commission has received a copy of a regimental history entitled *The Ninth U. S. Infantry in the World War* (Neuwied am Rhein. 235 p.), through the kindness of Captain Claire I. Weikert of St. Paul, formerly regimental intelligence officer of that organization. The Ninth Infantry fought with the Second Division from Chateau Thierry through the Meuse-Argonne campaign. The narrative of its exploits is followed by a series of orders affecting the movements of the regiment which were issued from general, division, and brigade headquarters, together with a complete roster, by companies, of the officers and enlisted personnel. Casualties also are shown, but unfortunately, the home addresses of the members of the regiment do not appear.

Battery D, 337 F[ield] A[rtillery], 1917–19 (80 p.) is a souvenir history of a unit whose personnel originally was made up almost entirely of Minnesota men. The book was published by the battery under the direction of its captain, Ceylon A. Lyman of Minneapolis, who acted as editor-in-chief. It contains an outline sketch of the battery's history supplemented by more intimate accounts of "Our Trip 'Acrossed'," "La Havre to Clermont-Ferrand," "The Advance Party," "Fighting the Enemy Behind the Lines," "The Delouser," "Bordeaux to Camp Dodge," and "The Farewell Dinner," together with other pertinent mat-

ter in both light and serious vein. There are, of course, individual and group photographs of all members of the battery together with numerous photographs recalling experiences and scenes through which this unit passed.

A brief but comprehensive account of the "History of Base Hospital No. 26," written by its commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Arthur A. Law, M. C., of Minneapolis, is published in the June number of *Minnesota Medicine* and also as a reprint (11 p.). Base Hospital No. 26 was one of the few distinctively Minnesota units participating in the late war, having been organized and recruited from headquarters at the University of Minnesota. As the director of the organization and equipment of this unit preliminary to its mobilization, and as the head of the organization during the period of its active service at the great base hospital center near Allery, France, Dr. Law has been able to supply an invaluable record of the origin, training, and achievements of this group of Minnesota men and women.

The "War Service Number" of the Minnesota Educational Association *News-Letter* (June, 1919. 84 p.) is devoted in large part to accounts of the war activities of various institutions, organizations, and individuals identified with the state's public school system. A series of articles on "The University of Minnesota in War Service," "The Teachers' Patriotic League," "The Junior Red Cross," and other similar subjects is followed by a roster of Minnesota teachers in war service.

A book of local interest, in part because it was conceived and written by Minnesotans, is *The Psychology of Handling Men in the Army,* by Joseph Peterson, assistant professor of psychology in the University of Minnesota, and Quentin J. David, lieutenant in the American Expeditionary Force (Minneapolis, Perine Book Company, 146 p.). The work is an outgrowth of the experience of the junior author, Lieutenant David of St. Paul, in several training camps in which men were being prepared for the various duties of warfare. Though published, as it happened, some time after the cessation of hostilities, the work was designed as an aid to the large numbers of new officers who were being suddenly called to responsible leadership in the recent crisis.

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BENJAMIN DENSMORE'S JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION ON THE FRONTIER[1]

RED WING Dec 20 1857

DANIEL DENSMORE Esqr

Dear Brother—Your epistle of the 22[d] ult seems yet to be specially answered by giving in detail an account of my tour to the north-west last fall. I presume you are aware of the fact that I made the tour, that it was prolonged into the wintry season, that though begun auspiciously it terminated with a smack

[1] This document was written by Benjamin Densmore shortly after his return from a trip to Otter Tail Lake, then on the extreme frontier of settlement in Minnesota. Although in the form of a letter, most of it appears to have been copied from a journal kept during the expedition. The original manuscript in the possession of Mr. Densmore's family was loaned to the Minnesota Historical Society in 1918, through the courtesy of his daughter, Miss Frances Densmore, and a photostatic copy of it was made for the society's manuscript collection. Additional Densmore Papers including three survey notebooks, maps of the projected towns of Newport, Red River Falls, and Otter Tail City, and many plats of early township surveys have been presented to the society. These papers and especially the letter here printed convey to the modern reader some conception of the hardships endured by the men who literally made the map of Minnesota. Technical knowledge alone was insufficient for them; this had to be supplemented by the sturdy qualities of the pioneer. Indeed, the surveyors who located so many Minnesota towns, permanent and ephemeral, were the forerunners even of the pioneer settlers; only explorers and fur-traders preceded them. The document has been printed *verbatim et literatim,* but standard punctuation marks have been substituted for the dashes used in the original. The notes have been prepared by Miss Dorothy A. Heinemann and Miss Bertha L. Heilbron of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society.—*Ed.*

Benjamin Densmore belonged to a family of pioneers who moved toward the Mississippi as the population in the eastern regions became more dense. His father, Orrin Densmore, a citizen of New Hampshire by birth, settled in Riga, New York, in the first decade of the nineteenth century. It was here that he married Elizabeth Fowle and that Benjamin was born in 1831. Sixteen years later the Densmores again became frontiersmen, this time moving onto a farm near Janesville, Wisconsin. Soon thereafter Benjamin began alternately to teach

of the unromantic and unpoetical, a taste of the trials of famine and of hardship. Yet you have not had an account giving the full gist and pith of the tramp with its exciting events, its beautiful scenery, the novelties which were constantly met with on our way and the "modus operandi" adopted in selecting our route through a region hitherto unexplored by us and through which loaded wagons and teams had not been known to pass.

school and to attend Beloit College from which he graduated in 1852. Upon his return to Janesville he became engaged in the construction of the Janesville and Fond du Lac Railroad. His father was one of three commissioners appointed by the governor of Wisconsin to appraise the value of the property of this road. This was Benjamin Densmore's entrance into a field which soon led him to Minnesota. In 1855 he was entrusted by the Minnesota and Northwestern Railroad Company with the survey of that part of the road extending from St. Paul to St. Anthony and thence to Stillwater and Taylor's Falls, and a year later he became chief engineer for the survey for the same company of the region from St. Anthony to Kettle River and from that point northward toward Duluth. Benjamin's brother Daniel accompanied him to Minnesota in 1855 and in 1857 the family home was moved to Red Wing in Goodhue County, where the father engaged in the lumber business. Benjamin, however, continued his surveying work in various parts of Minnesota. During March and April, 1857, he surveyed the site of Bloomington on the Minnesota River, and, when this work was completed, he undertook an expedition for the Echota and Marion Land Company, one of the numerous firms operating in Minnesota land at the time. During the month of May Densmore marked out the sites of Echota and Marion in Otter Tail County and then penetrated as far as Fergus Falls or, as he called it, "Red River Falls." In the fall of the same year he returned to the Otter Tail region with Charles W. Iddings of St. Paul to station men on the town sites already located and surveyed. This second journey is the subject of the letter here published. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War Densmore enlisted with the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry and at the close of the war he was serving as captain of the Fourth United States Heavy Artillery (Colored). Returning to Red Wing in 1866 he assisted in the founding of the Red Wing Iron Works, with which he was connected until two years before his death on January 26, 1913. Densmore Papers in the possession of the Densmore family and the Minnesota Historical Society; Albert N. Marquis, *Book of Minnesotans,* 123 (Chicago, 1907); Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Dakota and Goodhue Counties, Minnesota,* 2:757 (Chicago, 1910); Minnesota, *Special Laws,* 1858, p. 431; *Red Wing Republican* (weekly), January 29, 1913.

Oct. 5/57.[2] Leaving Saint Paul our route for an hundred miles lay on the east side of the Mississippi river and over a comparatively level country. As the upper Mississippi is quite well settled we have been passing farm-houses and through towns thus far, frequently, selecting our camp-grounds each night at some place where wood and water are near the road. At this place (Little Falls) we cross the river and take the road to Long Prairie twenty-eight miles west of Little Falls. West of the river the face of the country along our route is made up of very high ridges bordering the flat sandy bottoms of Swan River along which our route lays for several miles.

Oct 10 We have now entered an unsettled district two miles west from the Mississippi, on our right forests of pine, rugged and hilly, on our left and before us, the sandy plain with its scanty herbage yet thickly bedded and matted in places with wild strawberry vines. Still farther to the left the river with its tortuous windings, while beyond a weary waste of single oaks, fire brush, poplar wind-falls and a blue fall-sky away in the south. At noon reached the first crossing of the river. Those of the party in advance of the teams have already lighted the fire to cook coffee for dinner, and while we are waiting for the others to come up with the teams I will relate to you our plans, object &c.

The main object of this expedition is to station men on the town-sites, Echota and Marion, which I surveyed and located on the Otter Tail Lake and River last Spring (in May).[3] We propose to reach the Lake Via of Long Prairie, hoping to find a feasible and direct route through from the latter place. We have

[2] This date and the one at the beginning of the following paragraph have been inserted in pencil. The handwriting appears to be the same as that of the rest of the manuscript.

[3] Marion and Echota were incorporated as towns by an act of the legislature of June 11, 1858, which located the former at the southwestern end of Otter Tail Lake north of the Otter Tail River (Red River) and the latter at the foot of Truth Lake. The first town officials of Marion as prescribed by the act of incorporation included B. Densmore as president. This probably accounts for the fact that his name is found in the census of Otter Tail County taken in 1860. Although Densmore left members of his party at both Echota and Marion the towns failed to develop beyond the stage of incorporation. Echota is shown on Sewall and Iddings map of 1860; Marion seems to have disappeared even at that early date. Prob-

two teams laden with supplies and outfits for the expedition and for the men who are to remain. Six of our number will compose the two parties, one to be stationed at each town. Two teamsters, M[r] C. W. Iddings of Saint Paul, who has consented to assist in exploring the route through, and your humble scribe make up the party.[4]

Toward the middle of the afternoon we recrossed Swan River, after which our route crossed over hills and through valleys irrespective of grade or direction. The wagons being heavily loaded the mules became exhausted of their wonted zeal from tugging at the steep hills and through stony coolies until dusk when on reaching a last summit to the westward of which lay another valley-plain, our modern jehus signified their determination to proceed no farther. Thus we encamped at the summit of a high hill with this inconvenience, that water could be seen to the southward at Swan Lake, to the westward in the valley, but in either direction the intervening distance was a perfect network of brush and brambles; by using great patience we finally succeeded in procuring enough from the valley for supper.

During the evening the heavens blackened up with moist looking clouds which seemed each to wend his own way and that quickly; the men sat about the camp fire as usual but evincing a spirit of restlessness, remarking now of the surrounding country, now of the aspect of the heavens and frequently drawing nearer the fire as a chilling breeze would rise from the valley and sweep the exposed summit where we were camped. Again the winds had gone down, the clouds ran as ever disclosing at intervals an opening into the dark blue heavens beyond. Faintly

ably neither town ever had inhabitants other than those left by the Densmore party. John W. Mason, *History of Otter Tail County*, 1:82–87 (Indianapolis, 1916); Minnesota, *House Journal*, 1858, p. 656; *Special Laws*, 1858, p. 431.

[4] Charles W. Iddings was a surveyor living over the post office in St. Paul in 1856. After the Densmore expedition he was associated with Joseph S. Sewall of St. Paul, the engineer who built the Wabasha Street bridge. During this connection the two men published a map of Minnesota which is known as the Sewall and Iddings map of 1860. There is some evidence that Iddings was a resident of Otter Tail County for a time, for he too is listed in the census of 1860. Andrew Keiller, *St. Paul City Directory for 1856–1857*, 110; Mason, *Otter Tail County*, 1:82, 87.

but distinct the screech owl is heard over the valley and beyond what seems the confines of darkness. Then all is still.

Among a troop of adventurers like this it is seldom there is not one who is deputied chief musician. Silence had not lasted long when ours broke forth whistling some sweet remembrance of a once favorite melody; he was followed by another and then another, each in his own strain and after his own thoughts until the whole party (save one of the jehus, a phragmatic [*sic*] dutchman) as though unmindful each of what the other did were engaged in this simple passtime. Soon the resonant night air was filled with soft notes floating as softly away into the dusky thickets when "Boys stop whistling or you'll bring a storm" broke forth from the lips of one of our number, a sea salt in years past. A few thoughtful moments and the remaining fire-brands were thrown together and each selecting a spot to lie wrapt him in his blanket and lay down to rest a few short moments more and we thought no more of the sailor's warning nor of the world, but slept and dreamed.

Yet the clouds thickened and betimes assumed a more direct move and ere the golden hours of night were yet announced, a stray drop of rain dropped among the dying embers, then another and another, then myriads, and the storm came down, wakening a sleeper from his couch in the thicket, one from the hill-side, another from the trench in the wagon path where his posture had too effectually checked the escape of the rushing flood down to the valley below. A general melee arose throughout the camp of surprised sleepers. Some sought shelter under the wagons, others were striving to unfold and spread the mammoth canvass. This sheltered us for a time though we had to endure the remainder of the night in wet clothes and wet blankets despite our best endeavors to find shelter, such was the copious deluge of rain water.

About nine oclock the next morning the storm beat away followed by a frizzling rain for an hour. When the rain had fully abated we dried our outfits as well as could be and at noon set out for Long Prairie.

Long Prairie River and Prairie Lake take their name from the prairie which is long, as the name implies; it extends along

the river from twenty to thirty miles and is quite narrow, averaging about a mile in width at its widest parts. We are disappointed however in the appearance of the country north-west of here and toward Otter Tail Lake (the direction we wish to go) for it seems to be quite densely wooded where, from the best we could learn from Government Surveyors, we had supposed we should find an open prairie country.

Long Prairie, some two years since was the Indian Agency for the Winnebago indians. Since then, the post has been vacatant [*sic*] by the removal of the indians to the Blue Earth River and has been quite uninhabited until the present summer.[5]

The United States built here from fifty to eighty buildings, some of which are good habitable houses, besides mills, storehouses, shops &c at a cost in all of about $120,000.[6]

Recently the improvements and lands were disposed of to a private company and people have begun to come and take up their residence. Withal, the place has an air of savage life about it that one does not relish; those blockade houses, those picketed yards, one feels fearful lest the decaying timbers tell a tale revolting or cheerless or startling.

After a short time in consultation, Iddings and self resolved to make up our packs and proceed in the direction of Otter Tail Lake one or two days' travel when we could determine whether it would be practicable to attempt getting through with the teams.

[5] The treaty of 1846 with the Winnebago brought about the removal of that tribe from Iowa to Long Prairie in 1848. Neither the Indians nor the white men who settled near the reservation were content with this arrangement. As a result a new treaty was concluded at Washington on February 27, 1855, according to the terms of which the Indians gave up this reservation for one on the Blue Earth River. United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report" for 1848 in 30 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 1, p. 459 (serial 537); United States, *Statutes at Large,* 9:878; 10:1172.

[6] An account of the building operations in this region during the years 1849 to 1851 can be found in United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report" for 1850, in 31 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 1, p. 101 (serial 595). The government property passed into the hands of the Long Prairie Land Company of Cincinnati soon after the removal of the Indians. Clara K. Fuller, *History of Morrison and Todd Counties, Minnesota,* 1:217 (Indianapolis, 1915).

And accordingly started out following up the river until night and encamped. The next day at nine oclock A M we came to a bend in the river where we crossed, the river coming from the south and our course being north of west. After traveling through two miles of oak and maple timber began to find tamarac swamp and open marshes; at noon came to a creek which crossed our course at nearly right angles. Continued on until the middle of the afternoon and the tamarac occurring in denser and larger bodies we determined that the route would be utterly impracticable and turned back, reaching the creek again at dusk where we camped for the night returning to Long Prairie the next day.

Our next project was to go south and west from the prairie, following a wagon trail which leads through the timber from the prairie to the plains; once on the plains our object will b to make northward fast as possible & at the first opportunity.

The day following our return, then, we set out on the southern route, having left part of our supplies in charge of the company agent at Long Prairie.

During our sojourn at the prairie we availed ourselves of the kindness of a M^{r} Bauman, an old indian trader, in his offer of house room where we had very comfortable quarters for men roughing it in the bush as we were. On taking our departure from the prairie the old gent kept our company as guide as far as Little Sauk Lake, within two miles of the plains, where he has a claim and has during the last summer raised a crop of vegetables. Soon as we entered the woods, six miles from the agency the route became rough, with sharp pitches, stumps and sideling and crooked places. So our progress was slow and at night we were yet three miles from the little lake.

The old gentleman shows a great deal of anxiety about his vegetables lest the indians may have destroyed them, particularly his onions; however he kept his patience until the next morning when he walked through to his claim, firstly admonishing us of several springy places in the road near his place. The first of these we reached without difficulty. Our first jehu, probably elated with the success of his animals over the others insisted in going through this without repairs and in so doing upset his load completely. Though without injury other than breaking a travelling companion pertaining to our quasi guide the incident

was a sufficient caution for further procedure. A thorough repair rendered the passage of the second load safe; by cutting half a mile of new road through the brush we avoided the second spring-hole and at noon had reached the claim.

Oh! who that wants or wishes for a "lodge in the vast wilderness,["] let him come here—here, where no honest yeoman would ever see fit to pitch his tent and dig his well. To do credit to the enterprise, however, we must say that the old gentleman has as fine a growth of vegetables as Minnesota soil is capable of producing, mammoth, of first quality and an abundant yield.

It is two miles to the plains from here and we have to cut at least an hundred rods of new road beyond here before we can get along with the teams. After dinner, then, all forces will be sufficiently employed for the rest of the day.

At evening, after a palatable dish of wild duck soup and other etceteras of camp fare our host M^{r} Bauman held us in audience a good long hour upon a religious discourse wherein he set forth ideas peculiarly native and stubborn arguments; how long he would have talked had we remained attentive we know not for sleep seemed a sweeter restorer to nature than a surfeit of ribald sentiment and he finally wound up preaching to himself for want of listeners.

The next morning and we left the old man with his peck of onions, his monstrous turnips, his undescribable pipe & glory & departed, he to dig his roots, we to steer our way over and through a district of country hitherto unexplored by us and scarcely by civilized man; at 10 ^{oc} A.M descended into the woodland valley, crossed Sauk River and rising from the valley on the western side came out on the broad acres of the unbounded plains; to the right and north distant three miles to five, heavy timber, the head waters of the Long Prairie, & Sauk Rivers. The timber extending away to the western horizon. Westward, "hills peep o'er hills" and abrupt ridges lift thin backs while south west and southward the plains extend away to the limit of vision. We soon found that we had left a shelter in leaving the timber for the winds of the prairie were in high glee and cold. At noon reached a small lake in one of the prairie basins where we halted to refresh the mules.

While this was being done Iddings and self went in advance to look out the route and in due time the party followed taking such a direction as we were able to indicate to them by known signs.

In this manner we continued selecting the route for two or three miles in advance and returning motions until late in the afternoon, when, giving the party directions to encamp at a point of timber still in advance we struck away to the north to discover if there were any possibility of a belt of prairie extending through and beyond the timber.

Before it was yet dark we came to a wide, sluggish and muddy stream coursing eastwardly through the prairie. Thus cut off from further exploration by the probability of miring in an attempt to cross the stream and the stronger possibility of its getting pitch dark before the feat of crossing could be accomplished we abandoned the idea of advancing farther and resorted to climbing the highest tree that could be found near as a station from which to finish our reconnoissance.

From the altitude thus attained sufficient could be seen to demonstrate the entire impossibility of a feasible route to the northward and we turned about and sought our way into camp, skirting timber and marshes, wading through the thick and luxuriant growth of prairie grass and finally, after a seasonable walk in the thick darkness, spied the glimmer of the campfire on our right but separated from us by a watery marsh—this we waded through after tracing its direction some distance, and entered camp quite to the joy and welcome of the party who as yet seem uninitiated in the wild variety of camp-life in the wilds.

What is man's good nature, what is his honest heart, what he is, he himself will feel and know when his tent is pitched miles away from the habitation of man, when darkness of night enwraps his vision, when his sphere of life and life influences is limited to his little troupe of wanderers, is limited to himself.

Such reflex cause elicits the true, the beautiful and the good of man's nature and works to the exclusion of those many artful devices and designs of soul and heart so deeply seated in the teachings and actuations, the sum and pith of civilized life.

Morning came and with it renewed journeyings; found it necessary to retrace our route of yesterday nearly two miles in order to get round the. southward of a large marsh, an unforseen obstacle which detained our onward progress nearly half the forenoon. This surmounted we started westward again passing the point of timber and entering a broad and level prairie, the most beautiful expanse of level prairie I ever gazed upon; it extends northward to the woodlands, westward and in the distance gives place again to the high rolling surface, southward and diversified with groves, doubtless the sylvan surroundings of some prairie embosomed lake.

We had not ventured far on this field when the wagons began to cut the sod and the mules began to mire. We seemed to be crossing a portion of the prairie which acted as a subweir [*?*] from the south to the north, the dip of the prairie being in that direction. This occasioned us some trouble; one of our teams was evidently failing under their work and for want of proper care. This teamster complained that he had the heaviest load to draw. When we had reached firm ground again a truce was arranged and the entire loading of each wagon changed to the other.

This done and the several mules refreshed meantime by an allowance of grain (our stock of feed was small), we started on, the deportment of the commissary department giving evidence that the change of tonnage had been to some purpose. About the middle of the after noon our wonted equanimity of wonderment became uncontrollable. Thus far the scenery had been that of the monotonous cast, yet beautiful withal and of a passive grandeur. As we approached the western verge of this plateau and were remarking the high swells of land beyond and noticing several isolated knobs or pinnacles on the south west, our attention was attracted by the noise of waves dashing along the beach; we were approaching one of those beautiful sheets of water which occur so plentifully throughout the west. This lake must measure a mile across its narrowest place; it is surrounded by prairie and lies at the eastern base of the high rolling land; on the north eastern it is separated from another and a very small lake by a narrow ridge or bank of sand &

gravel.[7] It is rare we find a lake without this bourne of beach material on some part of its shore; it is evident this ridge is formed by the upheaval of ice in the spring and by the action of wind and waves. In many cases this ridge affords the only feasible passage by the lake, it being the barrier between the lake and an impassible marsh which extends away to some marshy district or to the woodlands. To-day we seem travelling through nature's rural districts, a district having all the elements of thrift, of prosperity and, of peace, I might say, still being as it is without the habitation of civilized man.

But I was ambitious to get a view beyond the highlands and sped away fast as legs could carry, reaching the summit of what I thought might be the ridge but to find a valley between me and another summit hill higher;[8] baffled thus several times I at last reached the real summit—back to the east by the plateau we had been traversing during the day, the bottom of a stupendous basin upon the western rim of which I was now standing, the lake hidden from view by the intervening minor summits I had passed, the party and the wagons, a mere spot near the little lake on the prairie, southward the view extending between two groves and onward and southward over the sweeping plain to infinity, where the earth and sky meet in one undefined horizon. Westward, I find myself standing upon the eastern rim of another huge and mammoth basin encircling and confining in its base another large expanded lake, descending into this basin by minor summits as I had ascended from its eastern "contemporary" I at length obtained a fair view, to northward of its lake.[9] The height of land there and the prairie extending back from the lake seem to indicate an open prairie country still to the north.

The party and the wagons crossed the summit and reached the lake a few minutes before dark. While they were preparing to encamp Iddings and self followed about the eastern side of the lake to see if it would be practicable for the teams to pass

[7] Probably Lake Reno, a lake of considerable size on the boundary between Pope and Douglas counties.

[8] Northwest of Lake Reno an elevation of 1,400 feet is reached.

[9] Probably Lake Mary, in the southern portion of Douglas County.

that way the next morning since if this could be done it would make our route several miles shorter than to encircle the large body of the lake to the south west of us. At the North East extremity of the lake found one of these ridges (though not wholly perfected) separating the larger lake from a very small lake as before mentioned.

It may be of interest to state that where the lake has no visible outlet the excess of water oozes through or under these ridges and escapes to other lakes, that these lakes in turn have a similar sub-outlet or until the discharge of water is sufficiently great to cut through the ridge and form a running stream. Leaving the lake and entering the wood again we went north until our attention was arrested by the loud cackling of geese and ducks and the rushing noise as they sped over their water in their frolicks; this convinced us that the opening in the timber which we were endeavoring to reach was a lake instead of prairie and abandoning further exploration we turned back satisfied that there was but one alternative—to traverse the large body of the lake to the south west and west and to make northward from the west side if possible.

Returning, found the party snugly encamped, the huge canvass drawn up before a very cheerful fire & each one seemingly occupied with his own thoughts—but what bodes this; while at our supper, numbers of green frogs rushed hopping through the camp, over its occupants, camp-fire and all and reaching the lake plunged beneath its waters; perhaps they were frightened by the camp-fire and by our intrusion, but more probably they anticipated the cold and stormy night-wind and sought the water for warmth.

And surely the night was dark and cold & blustering. The cold wind came from out the north west across the lake and poured in and through our camp most unmercifully; those who suffered most however were the poor feeble mules pitiable creatures, they looked more in the morning like two shrivelled beets than like serviceable animals.

Note We camped last night near a government township corner by which we are able to locate ourselves; it seems that we have got far enough west to be quite if not directly south

of Otter Tail Lake, hence we should make to northward soon and fast as possible.

Despatching the teams to southward around the lake under charge of Iddings, I again followed round to northward taking two of the party with me armed for hunting. At 11^{oc} A.M joined Iddings who was in advance of the teams and had reached the North west side of the lake and from there we took up our north course, the country in that direction bidding fair for some time in travelling. At noon we reached a stream which it was necessary to cross. Jehu N° 1 as usual preferred to cross without a bridge and to use an appropriate phrase "pitched in" his mules and wagon literally "ploughing the muddy deep" hole. N° 2 somewhat emulated, would risk his team and load and accordingly pitched in also ditto N° 1. Finding their animals would become fixed property unless detached from the load they led them out and after severe and combined efforts at the extremity of tongue load N° 2 succeeded in wading it out to the hard ground. Their determination to draw out N° 1 in the same manner called forth a short, brief, concise speech of the pie-crust order enforcing the practice of economy of horse-flesh by unloading the floundered wagon before drawing upon it. This soon brought forth the party rule when they pitched in & pitched off the load when a comparatively slight effort brought the wagon out on terra firma. While the mules were waiting the wagon was again loaded and we began the afternoon as though no accident had occurred.

We had gone but a mile or two farther when having reached the northern rim of the grand basin we saw that our progress to northward was again cut off by the timbered districts. After consultation with Iddings he concluded to explore a short distance in the timber while I piloted a route skirting westward along the timber. Wagon traces were numerous and had drawn our close attention since entering the plains. Soon found one of these tending westward which I followed for some distance over hills and down ravines and across marshes until at length it "brought up["] at an old camp ground. Nonplussed and perplexed at this sudden termination of a groundless hope I left the "desolate" looking ashes and by dint of pulling up a sharp ravine we reached the open prairie again; half a mile further

on made an encampment of the party, while I strolled on as usual to explore the route in advance; had been gone but a few minutes when I reached a road leading to the north. This gave renewed hopes of finding a way through the timber and I followed the road until dusk but not long enough to gain any definite idea of its purpose nor termination.

Returning to camp found Iddings there; he had found us again after considerable exertion. Upon relating my discovery soon concluded that the road is one spoken of by a Mr Tuttle of Long Prairie as leading north to some city, some town site.[10] After a long and deliberate "council of war" upon the subject before the camp-fire, we decided it would be prudent to explore the road at least as far as "the city" before taking the teams on, and, that the teams should not be hindered by such an exploration it was further decided to make it in the morning and if possible before 8oc.

Morning dawned and we had already indian like, with each our blanket wrapped about us placed many miles between us and the place where we had slept.

At opening twilight after following the winding route along a hazel valley we came to the "Twa Roads" and being inquisitive of each and both we soon decided each to take a road to follow it up and by a certain time to return again and meet at the forks. By the right hand track we noticed a small stake stating the distance to Holmes City to be three miles.[11]

[10] W. W. Tuttle was the head of one of the three families living in Long Prairie in 1859. During that year or the year following he moved to West Union. Fuller, *Morrison and Todd Counties,* 1:218, 223.

[11] Holmes City was founded by Thomas Holmes, Noah Grant, and W. S. Sanford, all of whom came from Shakopee. As Holmes was the leader of the party his name was given to the settlement. Grant proved his title to a claim; the others, however, were not so successful. Holmes remained in the town only a year or two and then returned to Shakopee. That he was not in Holmes City at the time of Densmore's visit is indicated by the statement of the latter that Holmes had moved west the previous spring. (See *post,* p. 182.) Hence the two men found there by Densmore were probably Grant and Sanford. Although Holmes City is undoubtedly one of the two oldest settlements in Douglas County, most pioneers of the locality and writers up to the present have agreed that Alexandria, founded by the Kinkead brothers in the summer of 1858, was

Divesting us each of our blankets and secreting them nearby in the bushes we set out upon the separate roads with a "much-before-breakfast trot"; had not proceeded far however when we recognized faces somewhat familiar as the "Twa Roads" seemingly confused and afraid to go alone in the woods, met, mingled and ran on as of yore, as one.

Hill, dale and wooded slope seemed no obstacle to our onward tendency and at length a mathematical arrangement of stakes on a rugged side hill inevitably led us to the conclusion that we were entering the suburbs of the city, the stakes indicating in a tangible manner those pieces, parts or parcels of land known and described as being the lot or corner lot of block and conveyed in consideration of dollars per foot per front.

Yes Indeed we were entering the city for we could see the "block corners"; a few minutes' walking indiscriminately through streets and blocks brought us to the nucleus, the heart, the kernel of Holmes City. A good hearty serenade of raps at the cabin door soon brought a response from the sound sleepers within (8½°c) who lifted their latch and bade us enter. The object of our early tour being answered by the prairie which opened out north of the city, a few cursory questions as to its extent in that direction satisfied us as to the route and we were on our way back to meet and order the teams.

settled first. One historical sketch of the county, however, does contain the statement that some old settlers maintain that the Holmes City party had reached its destination a few weeks before the Kinkeads and that both groups were living on their respective locations by August, 1858. Contrary to these assertions, the dates of the journal here published lead to the conclusion that Holmes City was founded at least nine or ten months before Alexandria. There is even a possibility that the Holmes party selected the site in the spring of 1857, for Densmore later mentions the fact that its members explored the region north of the "city" at that time. (See *post,* p. 182.) On the other hand, in October Densmore did not seem to know of the existence of Holmes City though he had probably passed through the region when he made the survey of the previous May. (See *ante,* p. 168, n. 1.) Thus it is likely that the town was founded sometime between May and October, 1857, probably in the early summer of that year. Constant Larson, *History of Douglas and Grant Counties,* 1:125, 132, 174, 325 (Indianapolis, 1916); Brown and Wright, *Plat Book of Douglas County,* 5 (Philadelphia, 1886).

Found they had but just halted at the edge of the prairie when we gave them the halloo to come on. Thus our flying reconnoissance was made and our route determined upon while no time was actually lost to the progress of the teams. At noon our small cavalcade reached the "city" in due order where we made a liberal halt. Engaging an ox team and two men (the only civilized and domestic inhabitants of the city) to accompany us two days on our route, the men as guides and the oxen to take a part of our tonnage, we left at three o^{c} Pm and struck out to north upon the prairie.

But a short distance from the cabin is a high swell in the prairie; from this we observed on the northern horizon two prominent points or knobs distant about twelve miles.

When night came we had by dint of surrounding marshy places and crossing streams made a northing of about three miles where we camped. Our reinforcement of men from the "City" were the chief attraction of the evening in relating their yarns of adventure and exploit.

Our days service had been uncommonly long and as soon as quiet was the order about the camp-fire we dropped off in deep slumbers.

By following up the practice of exploring in advance of the teams we saved a great deal of unnecessary travel the next day, though from the nature of prairie country we were sometimes deceived in being unable to judge of ground until having reached it. We are aided much, too, by the information of our guide from the city;—he passed through this same section of country last spring in company with Thos Holmes and remembers, the principal features of timber, prairie, &c when passing. It seems that Holmes's object was to reach Otter Tail Lake, but that after travelling a distance of forty miles in a northerly direction he came to a rough and stony country, studded with small lakes; one lake however, he discribed as being very large; this he thought must be battle Lake, a lake situate within seven miles of Otter Tail Lake & South East.

The character of the country being uninviting as it was, he turned back (our guide informs) on his route until within seven miles of Holmes City and then bore westward.

This information at first non-plussed our calculations as we have estimated the lake to be not more than 25 miles at most, directly north from the city. Canvassing the information as a whole brought us to decide that we were west far enough to be south and perhaps west of south from the lake and that hence our policy to reach the lake must be to go north.

About the middle of the forenoon while Iddings continued in advance I followed the border of a marsh for some distance and then turned toward the route taken by the teams; had reached the top of a hazel brush knoll when a pair of monstrous and excessively fat cows started from the burnt hollow of an oak stub nearby. Our hunters being within hailing distance were soon on hand and dispatched one of the animals on the spot; the other, frightened by the tumult of the dogs and hunters in pursuit, kept beyond reach for a short time but like his fellow chum finally took passage in the wagon as game. At noon halted near a small lake and while dinner was being prepared the men "fell to," skinned the game, some pronouncing in the meantime encomiums upon the virtues of cow's oil, some the warmth of cowskin mittens and shoes and others upon the flavor of the roast in prospect; this latter however they did not relish, the animals were completely enveloped in a sheet of blubber fat which would measure at least two inches in thickness and which rendered their flesh insipid for culinary purposes.

Afternoon our route lay along a beautiful belt of prairie bordered on either side by groves of timber and woods; at 4 o^{c} P M crossed a beautiful stream of water which crosses the belt of prairie; half a mile farther north brought us out in full view of the knobs we had noticed from Holmes City.

Since first noticing these knobs we had marked them as a kind of natural observatory whence we should be able to better shape our course for the lake; it was now about half after three oclock and the knobs though plain to be seen were still some distance off, but Iddings volunteered to visit the summit and gain a view before dark and started off at a rapid pace accompanied by the guide.

I piloted the party & teams along the timber skirting the eastern base of the range until five o^{c} and encamped; before dusk attempted a short reconnoissance toward the mountains for

such we had already termed the high knobs as they seemed to form a continuous range.[12] My tour was brief, however, for I soon found that a thickly brushy country spanned the distance yet between me and the nearest summit & I returned to the camp, just after dark. Supper was delayed for some time, owing to the poorness of the wood gathered about camp and with the expectation too, that Iddings and his comrade would come in in time. Yet he did not arrive as we had expected. Fearing that he might be wandering in the dark two men were despatched to a high knoll to the southward to start a brush-fire for a light and to discharge a gun at intervals. This it seems met his attention though he made no answer to the signal until within a short distance. As they approached the camp-fire and came into the broad light their appearance was truly comical yet partaking of the frightful character. Their clothing torn in places, their hats of the most uncouth shapes, their hair disshevelled and their faces scratched in divers ways and places, Iddings grasping a hunting knife by the hilt with one hand while the other was clenched as if to give a blow, while his companion carried his gun in the position of "make ready."

A moment of astonishment shown by those in camp and all burst into a hearty laugh when the night adventurers confusedly gave their story.

[12] These "mountains" are the Leaf Hills in the southern and eastern portions of Otter Tail County. Although many of the hills are only 1,500 feet above the sea level, at one point they reach an altitude of 1,750 feet. From their highest point the hills gradually slope to the level of Otter Tail Lake which is about 1,300 feet above the sea level.

On the whole Densmore presents an accurate description of the country which he explored. After leaving Long Prairie the party passed through a wilderness of forests and swamps interspersed with patches of open prairie. Lakes were frequently encountered since this district is in the heart of the lake region of Minnesota. Otter Tail County alone includes 1,029 Lakes, the largest being Otter Tail Lake, which is eight miles long and two and a half miles wide, and Battle Lake. The Red River, often called the Otter Tail River between Otter Tail Lake and Breckenridge, is the largest of a number of rivers which flow through or have their sources in this county. A country of "mountains" and prairies, lakes and rivers such as this, is obviously a land of great beauty, a fact which Densmore seems to have fully appreciated. Newton H. Winchell, *Geology of Minnesota,* 4: plate 51 (St. Paul, 1901).

It seems that after they had left the top of the mountains & while crossing the small ridges at its eastern base they were brought to a stand by what they thought to be an animal of the cat kind.

What it might have been they do not know; their only idea of its probable size is from the noise it made going through the bush.

The animal started up before them just as they had reached the top of one of the ridges, and, making a circuit about in the brush came up again a few feet in front of them and stopped. Their wits were now at work as to what course they would take; the first idea was to Stay there till morning. A night spent in camp and plenty to eat, however seemed to take the preference. At this resolve Iddings armed himself with his comrades hunting knife, and, making a track to leeward they left their unknown in its ambush and made pell-mell speed in direction of camp, encountering alike thickets of fire oak, marshes and ponds of water.

The excitement of their pseudo Jonny Gilpin adventure once over and Iddings gave an account of his observations from the top of the mountains. The sun had just touched the western horizon as he reached the summit hence his time and opportunity for a clear and extended view was short; he describes the scenery however as equal to his most sanguine expectations, grand & beautiful; he gained the impression that it would be our best plan to pass over the mountains but did not feel positive enough of the expediency of the move.

Before lying down we had arranged for a second visit to the mountains in the morning before daylight, appointed a time for a signal to cross the mountains and one to continue on the east side, selected a gun from our armory with which to make the signal and made every preparation for an early start.

Hutchinson (the sailor) volunteered to accompany me in this trip, Iddings remaining in camp to act in concert with the appointed signals.

At five A. M. Hutchinson and self set out for the mountain, skirting along the prairie to southward until opposite them then entering the oak openings and ridges and making direct for the peak visited by Iddings. At seven A. M reached the summit, just as the sun's upper limit stood above the eastern horizon.

Already the view was blurred by frosts and fogs in places yet the main features of the scene stood out in bold relief. Miles and miles away in either direction, groves, slips of prairie, lakes, valleys and hills and plains and woodlands made up the exquisite beauty of the scenery and the sun advanced devouring the jewelled frosts and dissipating the night fogs. A chilly north west wind made us regret having left our blankets as we did at the edge of the prairie and we were obliged to use considerable exertion to prevent being numbed.

Ambitious to attain as great an altitude as possible I ascended a scraggy bur oak on the summit but soon found that this extra height was of more trouble than value.

What, with running from one part of the summit to the other, climbing trees, and descending now and then a short distance on the leeward side of the peak to escape the chilly blast I had become convinced that our only route was to cross the mountains before proceeding farther and accordingly at the appointed hour and minute instructed Hutchinson to discharge his gun having it pointed in the direction of the camp; difficulty in getting it off delayed us a few moments yet the signal was understood and after a second discharge a reply signal was fired by Iddings. Feeling now that the teams would be along in due time I directed Hutchinson to return and get the blankets while I visited other peaks of the mountains and selected a route for our passage.

Further observation more thoroughly convinced me that to cross the mountains is our *only* and hence our best route to the lake.

Although the mountains are very prominent in their principal outline as seen from a distance, a good feasible wagon road can be found to cross them on our route, the approach from either side being gradual and through coulees or ravines while the peaks or knobs rise from a hundred to a hundred and thirty feet above on either side.

While "waiting for the wagon," made a delicious repast of hazel-nuts which grow in profuse abundance on the sides of the mountains. They were so abundant that they gave a tinge or color of their own to the scenery wherever they were found. A fire had run through the mountains a few days before we reached them which burned the brush in patches, thus we had hazel-nuts

green, raw, toasted, roasted, browned or baked as we chose. In due time the party approached in charge of the teams; the men too had discovered the feast of nuts so bountifully provided & were discussing the subject with a zeal not to be outvied by coon, bear, or squirrel.

Soon after we had passed the summit several indians crossed our Track; from one of them we gathered the idea, though vague, that Otter Tail Lake was in north direction but could get no idea of how far it was. None of us could "talk indian" but Iddings, and he was on the side of a distant mountain cracking hazel-nuts and looking in size like a grasshopper on the side of a Dutch barn.

After reaching the western part of the slope our progress was slow and tedious, having in many places to skirt along the edge of springy marshes and in many places to cross them. In this the lightest pair of mules bolted frequently, one of them seeming as if ready to go by the board.

About the middle of the after-noon we came to a very large bog with a stream running through it. Iddings directed the teams to go round to the right—the party crossed the bog and began gathering nuts on a bluff beyond.

I endeavored to find the route taken by Iddings but of no avail and turned back to see where the teams had gone; found they had halted on the south side of the stream where it enters the bog. My best teamster had been very surly during the day and extremely unpleasant; he had placed his wagon along side the stream at a little distance. As I approached and saw him peering across from behind the load I called him to cross & come on, supposing at the same time that he had examined the stream to see if it would be possible to cross. He turned his team and as they were approaching the stream I had reached it and saw that though narrow it was without bottom and immediately stopped him, saying that he should not cross before having examined the stream for him-self, but, he refused to look for himself and bluntly stated that he could cross. So, starting up, the mules cautiously felt their way to the edge of the sod and gathered their feet for a spring. You can scarcely imagine the scene that followed: the animals sprung and would have cleared

the opening through which the creek found its way, it being not over twenty inches wide, but the wagon had cut down, in the boggy sod and it held them back, the left mule sinking in the mire hind feet first until he was stopped by his fore-feet catching on the sod; the other mule fortunately did not sink so far.

The teamster saw in a moment the result of his folly and opened his wail of invective upon me, hoping that "I was now satisfied." He had been murmuring for several days (since the grain had all been fed) and thought now (that his mules were not much better than dead ones) that he had made a fix on me. And had it not been that the party was in hailing distance his animals might have died for it was all our united forces could do to get them out. The next move was to bring grass and brush and logs and bridge the "muddy abyss" so that the wagons and the other teams could cross.

In a short time they were all across safe and sound. It required some legislation to get the unfortunate teamster into the traces again and on the route.

The whole occurrence would have been avoided by building a bridge in the first instance but I felt that a teamster who thought so much of his animals would certainly have care not to expose them to such imminent danger.

Had he refused to cross unless I built a bridge for him I should have cried "bravo" and had the bridge built in a few moments. As it was I could feel no compassion for him neither gratitude though he harnessed his animals and followed.

To do thus seemed his only alternative for he frankly told me that he could not possibly find his way back across the mountains.

We followed down the east side of the bog-marsh some distance and then turning eastwardly entered a large "canon" at the north end of which I discovered Iddings beckoning us to come; he stood on the very summit of one of the mountain peaks which head the "canon" and at a distance of half a mile gave the whole valley in which we were travelling an air of wildness, it being with difficulty that I could at first but recognize him as an indian.

The ascent out of the canon or gorge was not abrupt and the teams found no difficulty in making it.

This was the last high peak we had to cross; the level prairie could be seen away to northward for several miles when it seemed diversified with groves. North by north-east the mountainous range could be seen extending to the horizon; westwardly the surface of the country seemed extremely broken, marshes and small lakes occupying the spaces between the ridges. The descent from this last peak was of easy grade and through beautiful white oak openings. At 5½ P M we reached a small stream which here separates the timber from the prairie; this we bridged and finally crossed camping near it on the north side. While the party were preparing the encampment Iddings and self made a short tour out on the prairie in hopes of getting another view to the north but of no avail; our inferior altitude since leaving the mountain had placed us again on the surface of the earth where a very few feet serve to fix the limits of our vision.

We made our encampment on the lee side of a clump of willow bushes; in the center of this clump or grove we found quite a little pasture of grass which had escaped the fire and was yet green. Cutting a path into this forage lagoon we piloted the mules in where they had a fine repast.

Not twenty feet from the camp-fire was a thrifty growth of hazel-brush bearing a plenteous crop of nuts; these too were of the "assorted and prepared" being in all stages of preparedness from the raw fruit to the "done brown," all by the same fire which had swept over the mountains but a few days since.

While "filling the tea-kettle" from the little brook the boys discovered the skeleton remains of a buffalo submerged to the sod in what was once the channel of the stream, the water having since then worn a channel round the obstruction.

Many conjectures were made as to how the poor fellow became thus entrapped yet we were not surprised at the fact since the adventure we had had with the mules that afternoon.

We lingered long around the camp-fire that evening. A spirit of despondency evident with some; Hutchinson ever the same sea brave spirit alike in sunshine and in lowry weather. Others seemingly indifferent of past present and future, rather passive yet ever ready at the word. Our reinforcement from "Holmes

City" give notice that they must turn back to southward in the morning, their anxiety ever increasing for the safety of their cabin and their stacks of hay from the ravaging prairie fire; to engage them for another day was my desire yet they were not inclined to make the agreement and finally sought their saggy couch and slumbered, leaving the question still undecided.

The party was in a full chorus of 8va [*octavo*] and sub-chorus in full variation interluded by the heavy breathing and monotonous cud-grinding of the swarthy bovines, while Iddings and your humble, were again canvassing the prospects of the morrow, the ability of the mules to take the additional load should the oxen be discharged, the probable distance yet to Otter Tail Lake and various other pertinent subjects, at the same time not forgetting to notice the varied and beautiful scenery we had passed through during the day. The exquisite beauty of the rancho where we were encamped, the interchange of meadow along the brook, with points of timber reaching down from the wooded slope, the light, sweet twitter of the tiny streamlet as it wended its crooked way among the tussocks, around the buffalo bones and down to the little lake below.

The moon adds silver to the crystal star-light, a dense, chill fog rises from the lake reaching up along the meadow toward our camp. A fog, also, came over our vision both optical and mental, and, stupid and sleepy we crawled beneath the blankets and slept.

Entreaty seemed of no avail, yet the guides from the "city" seemed as eager to proceed as to return feeling that a game was on foot for demanding increased pay for any further service I immediately closed the question by ordering their wagon unloaded and paying my indebtedness to them.

Supplying them with a due ration of bread for their return & interchanging well wishes each for a speedy and satisfactory termination of the others tour we set out on our several directions.

The additional load thus given the mules gave the teamsters a dejected air yet every mile of our progress northward over the smooth prairies added convincible proffe that we were wise in having crossed the mountains and that we were not now far from the lake.

As we progressed northward the mountains seemed to sink down to southward, a phenomena which led me to think the country north of the mountains higher than that south.[13]

At noon passed a large lake on our left; rising from the valley of this lake we took our course due north again about 1 o^c P M came up in full view of a large lake extending to the right and left "a great distance."[14] So soon as I caught a full view of the north western shore and the land beyond, was firmly impressed that it was a lake I visited while at Otter Tail Lake in May last, and which lies about six miles southeast of Otter Tail Lake. It being doubtful in which direction to surround this lake we ordered a halt and made a rapid tour along the south shore to a high knob about two miles distant. From the summit of this even we were not able to catch a glimpse of Otter Tail yet I was convinced from the disposition of the timber in that direction that my supposition was correct.

The next object was to decide which was the best route to pass the lake, which was soon done.

Iddings volunteered to pilot the route in the direction we had come while I continued around to the west end of the lake and thence northward to obtain more satisfactory information if possible.

On the most southerly point of the beach I noticed a lake to the left and separated from the large lake only by a very narrow and low ridge of sand and gravel supporting a scattered grówth of rushes or reeds and in places clumps of willows; further I noticed a place where there were no reeds and the water seemed wetting the sand on the side next the small lake. The

[13] This must have been an optical illusion since the country slopes continuously northward towards the lakes.

[14] The lake to the left was probably Lake Clitherall, the large lake reached at one o'clock, Battle Lake. (See *post*, p. 199.) From the description of the survey of the southern group of lakes (page 193), it seems that the party camped on East Battle Lake. An eminence of 1,500 feet just south of this lake was probably the "high knob" from which Densmore and his followers tried to catch a glimpse of Otter Tail Lake. A small lake southwest of East Battle Lake corresponds further with Densmore's description. The party probably passed between East and West Battle Lakes on the last lap of their journey to Otter Tail Lake.

ridge on the whole seemed to be formed after the same manner as I have already related.

About half an hour before sundown I had reached a high knoll of land about four miles north of the west end of the lake and was paid for my labor by as fine a view of lake scenery as I have ever witnessed. The object of our indefatigable search peered forth from the forests and groves lying between it and the prairie over which I had been tramping for the last two hours.

And, I stood musing over the scene, the low murmur of Otter Tail Lake could be heard as its tiny waves dashed along the beach before the evening breeze; it made the same low murmur last spring; thus it murmured before the evening breeze years ago and years hence it will murmur on the same, a song of sweet music ever the same though the hopes of those who hear it now will speed away and ever change like those same waves and waters never to know life again, ever the same though time may be and may not be, though the world move up or down and though it be forever a wilderness or become the scene of civilization, ever the same.

But a few minutes of sunlight yet remained & I had several miles of walking to retrace to reach camp. Reached the west end of the lake soon after dark and began carefully picking my way along the shore. About an hour after dark heard the signal gun from the camp but was too far to reply by a halloo.

As I approached that part of the large lake separated from the small one as already related I heard a noise indistinctly as of a rapidly running stream. At first I conjectured it to be the wind rattling the dry reeds in the little lake but as I advanced along the beach the noise became more clear and distinct and soon to my great discomfort, found any further progress barred by a wide torrent-stream pouring from the small lake into the large one.

To go round the small lake with its bordering marshes was unpromising for a night journey; this or to cross the stream were the only alternatives and I adopted the latter. After much trouble a suitable stick for the purpose of a setting pole was found and I ventured in, moved with caution at every step and gained the opposite bank in safety. The current was stronger

than I had anticipated while the depth of the stream was less not exceeding two feet.

Another hour spent between hazel brush and darkness and guided by the signal gun & I found my way into camp much to the gratification of the party who had been apprehensive of my return before morning & much to their satisfaction when they heard my story.

It seems they had looked their way along the south side of the timber along the lake until they reached the small lake I have spoken of when they turned southward, a marsh and stream on their right (west) making it impossible to go in that direction. At dusk they came to the north side of the lake we passed that day at noon and camped.

Two of the party while strolling along the shore of the large lake noticed the place where the water was lipping over the sand from the small lake, and, making a small channel in the sand with their feet the water ran freely into the large lake; this had become the violent stream it was when I crossed it on my return. Content with seeing the little rivulet formed they strolled on, making the circuit of the small lake, and, coming up on the opposite side of the marsh from where the teams were thought their case desperate. It was now near dark and to return the way they came was not to be thought of, so, after searching in vain for a feasible crossing, waded the marshy stream & wended their way into camp.

Our work seemed now accomplished; a few hours would land everything at the foot of Otter Tail Lake.

The next morning Iddings took charge of the teams "en route" while with men of the party I formed a surveying troupe and made a rapid survey of the lake where we had camped, the stream & small lake between it and the large one and finally of the large one & connecting the work by survey with the Otter Tail Lake at its outlet.

We reached the lake with our survey about two hours after the arrival there of the teams.

Though I had much yet to do before turning back toward the Mississippi I felt that the great burden of care and anxiety was now off my hands, that though our future labor would incur fatigue and probably hardships they would be incomparable to

those of plodding over an unexplored route with ill-fed and suffering animals. The party stood the trip heartily and were more robust at the end than when they set out on the journey.

The remainder of the day after two oclock P M was spent in recruiting the teams, in maturing plans for our operations upon the town sites and in looking over the town of "Marion." The inland lake and the Otter Tail Lake and river looked summer old and seedy yet the surroundings woodlands looked as beauteous in the autumn as they did in their spring dress.

Oct 25. Today is Sunday and by unanimous wish is regarded by all the men as a day of rest; for twenty days our energies have been under constant taxation and you can well know with what joy we hail this furlough. Iddings started for the head of the lake to-day, both to put the teams on their homeward route via of Leaf River & Crow Wing & to get an ox team at Otter Tail City[15] to haul our supplies for the party going to Echota which is about sixteen miles below here on the river.

A bath and an afternoon stroll along down the river served me an agreeable passtime for the warm sunny afternoon.

Monday 26. As my work in the Otter Tail River country was various and defined I will copy from my journal for the several days spent there:

All hands except the cook are out in the woods bordering upon the little lake putting up *"the first house in Marion."*

Iddings returned during the afternoon with a yoke of oxen & wagon. The weather which has been mild for fall begins to threaten coldly.

Tuesday 27. Divided the supply of provisions between the two parties and carried that for Marion across the river, fording the stream just below the lake; this occupied us until three oclock P. M. A cold drizzly rain came on during the forenoon & was

[15] Otter Tail City was situated on the northeastern end of Otter Tail Lake adjoining the mouth of the river and about two miles west of the present village of Otter Tail. During the fifties it was a trading post of considerable importance; it contained the United States land office for the district and one of the two post offices in the county and was the county seat. The land office, however, was moved to Alexandria in 1862, and, after the county seat was moved to Fergus Falls in 1872, the village was soon depopulated. Mason, *Otter Tail County,* 1:83, 86, 95, 103, 109, 677.

now so disagreeably wet and cold that we postponed our departure for Echota until morning.

Wednes 28. And we found the ground white with snow, a cheerless prospect, it looked so wintry; yet we got as early a start as possible "making tracks" for the south to intersect the route leading down the river from Otter Tail Lake.

As the sun rose the snow gradually melted away and by ten oclock the whole world looked brave as ever in its sedate autumnal dress. The oxen showed a backward spirit at first by refusing to draw up hill, and our ingenuity was taxed for some proper method of getting them along.

It seems they are from Red River and are accustomed to working singly at a cart, hence their dislike to working together after a more civilized manner.

At noon we came to the foot of a steep hill and the animals bolted; at the same [time] "our man Friday & his dog" way laid a coon. So, with unloading and carrying to the top of the hill, killing the coon which was done in a primitive manner with a club, coaxing the hyperborean bovines to take the empty wagon up & piping to cold lunch generally we passed the small hour of day.

While the oxen were yet at their hay Friday & Sam bethought themselves of a hunt along the road in advance and started off with the free air of adventurers, their minds full of the idea of encountering & being privileged to kill "sans ceremonie" *Game,* their loud talk and noisy walk precluding all possibility of coming within gun shot of any Game.

Betimes we started on with the team and crossed ridge, traversed vale and passed lake when not discovering our adventurous huntsmen's tracks along the Trail became alarmed lest they were lost. Loud calls were of no avail for no answer came; again the trail was searched but no tracks of them.

Bidding Iddings go on with the load I turned back at full speed, hallooing at every summit I crossed but no reply. At length reached the top of the hill where we had halted and heard Sam & Friday at a distance talking earnestly of where the road was and where they were. After repeated efforts I succeeded in making them hear me (they were going east fast as they could) and they turned about.

A few words were sufficient to show that they were lost of themselves though—as naturally—they were loth to admit but that "they were only hunting about.["]

At all events the adventure answered a good lesson for them to ruminate over when finally left alone at Echota.

In about an hour we had overtaken the team and finding the road obstructed in many places by fallen trees we "beat to arms["] to remove them. Beyond, we entered as fine a vale as one ought to wish for. We were travelling along the north side of a clear beautiful lake the south side of which is skirted by heavy timber; the north side is bordered by clear prairie for a few rods back, when white oak openings begin and extend northward up the slope from the lake to the summit about eighty rods distant which is crowned by heavy timber. Throughout this open woods the prairie grass grew rank and thrifty.

Indeed, since leaving the hilly region we crossed at noon, our route lay through "pleasant places" and through peaceful groves. At night we encamped in a ravine near the edge of a prairie and convenient to dry wood and a foraging spot for the cattle. During the evening the "coon" was duly dressed and a portion of the game arranged before the campfire "a la cuisinier," and gave forth a fragrance pleasant to encounter and which gave promise of a delightful breakfast on the morrow.

Thursday 29 Our route continues beautiful as yesterday, frequently passing through prairie vales which embosom many sparkling crystal lakes and are crowned with woodland groves and slopes.

Near one of these lakes we halted at noon for refreshment. About three oclock P. M we came in full view of the Otter Tail River valley below Echota.

Whatever scenery we have viewed since leaving the Mississippi River, be it as it may, it does not surpass that of the Otter Tail River from the point whence we approached it.

Having entered the valley below Echota we were obliged to leave the route we had been following and turn up the valley. At dusk we reached the south side of a large meadow which extends back from the river and encamped; the oxen were very tired and the prospect of crossing the meadow after dark unfavorable.

Friday 30. At noon reached the heavy poplar woods which border the river at Echota on each side and began "cutting a road leading to the center of the town"; this occupied nearly all the afternoon and at night we had camped down at the foot of Sturgeon rapids, the place or site designed for the "Echota mill power."

Sat 31. The woods resounded to the blows from our axes as we wrought a rude cabin from the forest; heavy logs and a wet drizzling rain were no obstacle to our proceedings though we willingly acknowledged the disagreeableness of the latter. At night we had the body of the cabin complete and material prepared for the roof. A bad cold followed the exposure to the wet cold rain, an event not very encouraging since through neglect my supply of clothing was comparatively light for the season.

Sunday, Nov 1. After giving the party instructions with regard to their work, their treatment of indians should any visit them, the course they should pursue in case the company should not send them a new supply of provisions in time, their mode of living during the winter &c, & wishing them each a goodbye, Iddings and self started down the river to visit the "Red River Falls" distant about ten miles, taking the cattle with us.

It is not necessary to give in detail the events following our departure from Echota and final return to Otter Tail Lake except the object of our visit to the falls as nothing else of note occurred meantime.

While in this country last spring I made a survey of the town of "Red River Falls" for a man at Otter Tail City;[16] he had

[16] Years later Densmore dictated some brief notes on this spring expedition in which he states that in February, 1857, he was employed by a land company, that he took a party of men on an exploring expedition, located the town of Fergus Falls and then returned to St. Paul where he made a map of the town, which at that time he called "Red River Falls." His further statement that in November, 1857, he "took out party and *left* them at Fergus Falls," contradicts this journal and is obviously a mistake. The man who in all probability actually founded the town was Joseph Whitford. During the winter of 1856–57 he was furnished with an outfit for an expedition to the falls of the Red River by James Fergus of Little Falls. The result was the staking out of the town named in honor of the promoter. Whitford went back to Little Falls, but returned in the spring of 1857 with a team and supplies to make a settlement. Densmore's sur-

made the claim last April under instructions from Iddings who had an equal interest in the same. Our object now was to visit the claim and make the survey more definitely and also make improvements of some possible sort.

Arrived at the place just after sundown and much to my surprise found the claim had been jumped and extensive improvements made thereon, several tons of hay cut, a cabin built, breaking done, &c.

After looking the ground over south of the river and about the Falls we proceeded to find a place for fording.

Before we had found a safe place were hailed by a fellow on the opposite side. At this we changed our tactics (knowing the cabin was inhabited) and taking the oxen from the wagon drove them over requesting our generous patron, as he proved, to capture them when they landed; this done he lead them to his stackyard and again returned to take us over in his boat.

Iddings showed evident signs of disappointment since the claim was in other hands. The short interim before the boat was brought over afforded us opportunity of concerting our plans of action.

Inasmuch as the intent of our visit would only serve to irritate the present claimant it was decided not to make it known to him, while at the same time we would gather all the information possible relative to his claim title. We preserved our incognizance with success and departed the next morning with prostrate hopes and dejected hopes of "Red River Falls."

Wednesday Nov. 4th We arrived at Marion again last night and this morning began preparations for our return home. Since we failed in gaining conclusive information in regard to a direct route from Long Prairie to Otter Tail Lake by the tour we made from the former place in October we decided to make the complete tour between these two points on our return as we would

vey in the spring seems to have been made during Whitford's absence, and it is reasonable to suppose that the man found there by Densmore and Iddings in November was none other than Joseph Whitford. Densmore Papers including a manuscript map of "Red River Falls" in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society; Mason, *Otter Tail County*, 1:91, 479–483.

not then be obliged to follow a route suitable for wagons & teams. Accordingly Iddings went to work making up bread for the journey while I viewed the site of Marion and gave specific orders to that party for the improvements which they were to make.

At 4^{oc} P. M. we were all in readiness with packs on our backs & walking sticks in our hands, and, crossing the river took a due south east course over the prairies toward a prominent peak of the Leaf Mountains. At dusk struck on the north shore of the large lake already in our outward journey as lying south of Otter Tail Lake. (We learn that this is the Battle Lake well known in Indian tradition).

About two miles farther on came to a fisherman's lodge; he was a french halfbreed named Boulanger & as is not unfrequently the case in the north west has taken the other side of the house and rears a three quarter family.[17]

From him we got directions to Bongo's lodge, another fisherman still farther east on the lake, and finally, engaged him to convey us thither in his birch bark.

A pleasant ride of an hour and a half over the quiet lake brought us to Bongo's lodge.

Iddings had known him for some time and feeling assured of a good welcome, tapped rudely at the bark door of the lodge with his walking stick. A gruff voice replete with good naturedness came from within the lodge bidding us enter.

Bongo is a negro, large in frame and heart, is intelligent and an agreeable talker. So far you may imagine him an Uncle Tom as pictured by M^{rs} Harriet B. Stowe; beyond this he has the spirit of the voyageur & pioneer instead of that of the saint.[18]

[17] One white and four half-breed families by the name of Bellanger are enumerated in the census of 1860. The name was evidently a common one in this region, since as early as 1838, George Bonga, writing from Leech Lake to William A. Aitkin and the Reverend W. T. Boutwell, mentions the theft of some goods by a certain Bellenger. Letters dated May 18, 1838, in the Sibley Papers; Mason, *Otter Tail County*, 1:86.

[18] Bonga was the name of a family of negro and Indian half-breeds living in the district between Lake Superior and the Otter Tail region during the nineteenth century. They were the descendants of two negroes who were brought to Mackinaw in 1782 as the slaves of Captain Daniel

Bongo came to the north west some forty years since under the employ of the American Fur Company; resided several years about Lake Superior when his propensity for trapping led him into the Otter Tail Lake country where he has lived among the Chippewa indians ever since. Like the fisherman first mentioned he rears a family from the indian side of the house.

But of our reception: A hearty shake of the hand & he bade us be seated upon the mat on the opposite side of the fire; he enquired if we had eaten supper and finding we had not eaten since leaving the lake, directed his squaw wife to prepare something. While this was being done he entertained us with much interest in recounting events and making inquiries about elections & political matters in general, showing an active thought; he also made special inquiry for Hon H. M. Rice—Mr Rice & himself were more or less coworkers in the fur trade. The supper was spread upon a clean cloth on one of the mats and con-

Robertson, the British commandant, and who were freed upon his death. In the "Mackinac Register" for June 25, 1794, the marriage record of "jean Bouga and of jeanne, the former a negro and the latter a negress, both free," appears. Perhaps the most prominent member of the family was George Bonga, a fur-trader who lived on Leech Lake.

As early as 1838 he was actively engaged in the trade with William A. Aitkin. In 1853 the Reverend Solon W. Manney, chaplain of Fort Ripley, visited him, and in the summer of that year Bonga accompanied him on a trip to Otter Tail Lake. The trader returned to Leech Lake, however, for in 1856 he received a visit at that place from Charles E. Flandrau. These visitors found the negro an excellent host. Flandrau mentions the fact that George Bonga and his brother Jack were the only negroes in the neighborhood of Leech Lake. Thus it is possible that the latter was Densmore's host at Battle Lake. Whoever he was, he seems to have had in his hospitality and knowledge of the affairs of the world, some of the qualities of the estimable George. Densmore states that this Bonga also was a fur-trader; hence his connection with Henry M. Rice who was the agent for the Chouteau Fur Company during the early years of his residence in Minnesota. In 1897 it was estimated that about one hundred descendants of Jean Bonga were living around Leech Lake. *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 5:488; 8:529; 9:56, 199; 10:191; "The Mackinac Register," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 18:497; and the following manuscripts in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society: Manney Diary, March 11, 13, 14, June 1, 8, 1853; Bonga to Boutwell, April 1, May 18, June 7, 1838, and Bonga to Aitkin, May 18, June 18, 1838, in the Sibley Papers; Bonga to H. M. Rice, December, 1872, an autobiography, in the Minnesota Miscellany.

sisted of boiled fish & tea, or more simply boiled fish. And Oh! ye Epicures who would know what is good of the genus pisces must make a pilgrimage to Bongo's or some other kindred genius' fishing lodge and submit the affair of preparing a member of the finny tribe for the table to the supervision of his dusky better half. We were not yet strangers to plenty—inured to hunger wherefore the dish was endowed with excellence—the flavor was inherent in the viand itself and we take pride in extolling its sweetness. We took our meal "a la Turc," reclining or sitting cross legged as seemed convenient.

The cloth removed, the mat next served as our couch; our packs untied & blankets spread out & we were soon in sound slumbers.

Rain began falling during the night which hindered our departure until noon of the next day; after dinner made up our packs again and set out toward the peak of Leaf Mountain noticed from Otter Tail Lake. At night had made about half the distance to it from Bongo's and camped.

The wood was yet wet and damp from the rain & for a time it seemed quite impossible to start a fire. The sky threatened more rain & our time until late in the evening was occupied in constructing a kind of bower for shelter. Then to preparing supper.

Our stock of provisions consisted as follows "to wit" Bread 3 lbs salt pork 1 lb and a small packet of tea. Sufficient quantity, we thought for the journey before us but upon inspection that night looked scanty indeed. So we began with rigid economy making our supper upon a short allowance.

The night passed and the day dawned without a storm. As small an allowance again of our store served for breakfast.

At 10½oc reached the summit of the peak, in Leaf Mountains. In every direction from the point the scenery is beautiful. South West a mountainous range sweeping round to west and distant a days travel encircling a rich plateau of prairie and groves of timber & lakes; North, mountainous; North East, a broad expanse of prairie bounded beyond by timber; South East, an immense grey field of poplar brush & fire oak with an occasional clump of trees. At the farther side of this field a high

knob stands alone which being in the direction we wished to go served as a landmark. Again we viewed the scene & then began descending the eastern side of the mountain, fighting our way through the oak fire brush on the ridges & wading the intervening marshes. At noon indulged in eating, each a small biscuit. The brush seemed interminable, turn which way we would to avoid it. When a marsh occurred in our way and led the direction we wished to go we waded along its margin in preference to warping along through the brush; betimes we would come to a lake & were it large or small it seemed invariably to cross our path at right angles & we were obliged to traverse round. During the afternoon came to a soaking water way where we found a thorn apple tree laden with fruit. This was a refreshment we had not looked for & you may picture to yourself the figure we cut for the next quarter hour; Viz two bruins (of the genus homo) devouring wild fruit. But with the apples came thorns, prickly ash of all pretensions meeting and embracing us at every step when we started onward.

The sun set and darkness came & we were still wandering along in search of some lake or pond to encamp by, choosing rather to plod along in the dark than endure thirst over night.

By keeping close watch of the stars we were able to maintain our course; after travelling thus about two hours we came to an opening in the dense brush-wood just large enough for a small marshy pond, a small basin of not more than three rods in diameter where the prim poplars seemed to say we will allow but so much space, there are so many of us here that we are already crowded and can allow no more. Yet the little pool seemed grateful; it reflected back the light of as many stars as could get a peep at it and as truthfully as the broad ocean. That night it cast reflections which I trust it may never cast again, two ragged explorers, hungered and weary.

But of what use; we were now in the heart of the jungle and a retreat was equally practicable in either direction. Excelsior might have been our motto for we were content & grateful with what we had & nursed a strong hope for the morrow.

This little pool suited us and we went gratefully to work preparing a dry place near the edge of the marsh for our bivouac & collecting wood for our camp fire & dry grass for our bed.

We "sat up late" that night repairing our clothing which had become sadly torn and worn coming through the brush, a task made doubly tedious by the loss of all the thread we had been the happy possessors of when we made our halt and further by the loss of two most excellent & substantial knee patches some time since dark.

However, we managed to get up passable amends and the evening came & went again from our "Squatter Sovereignty" temple and not a single beam of gloominess.

The day following our route was more diversified with large trees yet the undergrowth presented as formidable a barrier as the day before.

Before leaving the camp fire we divided the remainder of our provisions into two parts, one for our lunch at noon, the other for our supper, supposing that night would bring us at least within twelve miles of Long Prairie. At 10½oc we gained the summit of the knob we had viewed the day before from Leaf Mountain.

We now seemed in the very heart of a creation of dense brushwood, North west the Mountains standing in relief against the sky, the limit in that direction of the mammoth basin we had been traversing; Northward and distant about 3 miles, a prairie which extends away toward Leaf Lakes & nearly parallel with the route we had come; South west several miles distant another prairie, probably the one we had passed over on our outward route. Southward and distant about 5 miles a large lake is seen, apparently surrounded with brush wood of the same kind we were so well acquainted with of late. This lake is probably very extensive, though from the knob it appears like a long belt of silver. Every point of the compass east of the knob is alike, one dreamy expanse of indifferent timber, poplars & fire brush. To the southeast & probably another day's journey a high comb or point of grey timber stood as a landmark, a mark we had observed, we thought, on our tour up the Long Prairie river in October but in this we were disappointed. Concluding our observations from the knob we descended its southeastern slope without so much as a forlorn hope that we might recognize our whereabouts in the next twenty-four hour's travelling. Of only one thing we were at all times certain, that the direction we were

going would, if we continued in it, eventually bring us to the Mississippi river or some of its branches.

For an hour after we left the knob our road was brushy as ever but more interspersed with large trees than before. At noon we came to a large lake in the woods. This gave us renewed courage for we believed we had at last reached the head waters of the Long Prairie River, the heavy timber at the same time indicating a route ahead less obstructed by brush.[19]

After resting a while on the bank of the lake and quenching our thirst with its waters we started Southward along the shore (this lake is quite two miles long & like the small pond like lakes of the poplar field, we struck it at about the same distance from either extremity) and at the south end crossed its outlet. Here our "expectation stood on stilts"; the question arose, "Is not this the little stream we camped upon in October?" The scenery appeared familiar to us, the stream was of the same volume & general appearance & even the points of tamarac standing out in the marsh which the stream ran through reminded us of the camp wood we cut that night. Hope led our fancy in picturing matters thus familiarly & had everything been equally true we should have been within twelve miles of our journey's end at dark.

The remainder of the day was spent in travelling through a desolate waste of larch windfalls and poplar windfalls, burnt districts, tamarac swamps & water marshes.

Toward dusk the timber began to assume a more thrifty & hardy appearance, the ground descending gradually as we went along and before night had fallen upon us we came to the river. A few minutes served to determine the direction of its sluggish current. All observation confirmed the idea that it was the Long Prairie river yet we were now lost to know whether we were above or below the agency. In our anxiety to solve this question we started down the river but had not gone far when we were

[19] The head waters of the Long Prairie River are in Lake Carlos, but it is hardly possible that Densmore and Iddings had gone that far south. The lake mentioned is probably one of the many lakes in the southeastern part of Otter Tail County or the northeastern part of Douglas, possibly Lake Irene. From here they doubtless went southeast until they reached the river.

obliged to stop and prepare for the night again. This operation occupied some time after dark. At the same time we were both deeply absorbed in the one idea, our condition & prospects of where we were, exchanging as we came near each other in our "dark work" some thought or some important fact working strongly upon our minds as they recounted the last few days' journey.

Three pair of snowshoes were discovered hanging in a tree near our fire. Eager to catch a glimpse of anything which bespoke the white man's hand we strove to think some explorer had here left his snowshoes and gone on either in a canoe by river or by land as we had done. But any conclusion to the effect that a civilized hand had placed them there was unsatisfactory and we unanimously attributed to the red man his just works, confident that if one of our own race had been so unfortunate as to visit the place we were now in he would have made speedy preparations to remove to some more genial scene.

After the usual time spent in gathering wood & kindling a fire we arranged ourselves "a la cusinier du bois" and prepared for supper, each, one of his two remaining rations, rations to which a boston cracker & half a small herring would be a feast. We also had a brew of tea which by the way was very gratefully accepted, though made in a gill can & sipped from an half gill cup, our only cooking and table ware.

For a whole hour we hung round the camp fire, during the most of which time we had in question our route for the morrow; the more we talked over the matter the more firmly was the idea fixed in our minds that our route was to follow down the stream.

Sleep was sweet that night for we were wearied; well that it was so for the following morning the ground was covered with snow and snow was still falling. You may be able to picture in your own mind our condition & thoughts at that time; we had consumed the last remnant of food from our packs & made them up ready for the day's journey. Weapons we had none except a small hand axe, nor fire-arm, nor knife nor fishing implements we had none. We were in solitude & alone. we knew not where, save that the stream was before us, the wilder-

ness all about us, the snow falling noiselessly, silence, Sunday morning.

We could make but one resolve & that was to travel constantly & as fast as our condition would permit down the river.

The prickly ash & brush bordering the stream foretold the character of the work we had to do; branches of the main river too wide for us to leap across, we waded; to shorten the distance we had to travel we waded through the overflowed marshes.

Thus with the varied forms of wood & water to oppose and famishing bodies to support we contended though feebly for our way.

To be thus situated was far from being desirable, but should we by any means become separated one from the other, one or both, I felt, might surely perish, and to prevent this further addition to our miseries I allowed Iddings to go in advance & followed him, keeping his tracks.

He kept in advance some distance until about 10^{oc} A. M. when I came up with him near the river bank; he was engaged tying his pack & soon related his adventure. He discovered an eagle quietly devouring a fish upon a rock by the water side & creeping cautiously up near the bird frightened him away and secured the prize. The fish weighed perhaps ten ounces, and Iddings secured it carefully as though it had been a thing of fabulous value.

About an hour afterward we were brought to a halt by a very deep, wide & sluggish stream, a branch of the main river; after much searching for a place to ford we turned about and forded the main stream at some rapids. At the junction of these two streams the general course of the river which had been to the N.E by E becomes quite due south for nearly two miles, running through a kind of willow prairie.

Beyond this we were again "blockaded" by another deep & muddy stream coming from the South west, too wide to leap across, mud bottom of unknown depth. We followed up the right bank a mile or more & finally crossed by means of a bridge of tamarac poles laid from bank to bank. Until this we had not felt our growing weakness, though we travelled slowly & not without considerable exertion; to fell the small trees & place them across the stream was a rigid test of our muscular powers.

Beyond this stream, thickets & swamps & marshes occurred quite regularly with now & then, but far between, little nooks of prairie a few rods across.

Midday found us plodding onward, the snow still falling, our tattered garments leaving mementoes of our journey upon every thorn, while the river, seemingly to warn us that we had no garments though ragged even to spare, bore upon its bosom the first trophies of winter, large flakes of anchor ice.

Frequently in crossing the little prairies we would find rose buds and seldom thorn apples and haw berries of all of which we ate as we desired.

During the afternoon we came to a small cranberry marsh; the snow had not yet covered the vines, so with our bare hands we plucked the frozen rubies and ate of them until hands & feet cried out with pain at the cold work & prudence started us onward again.

Evening came, Sunday evening & with it a fog which with the darkness made the evening gloomy. Still we kept our course along the river occasionally leaving its bank for a few minutes but to return again & follow. About nine oclock we made a halt where the river ran close by some timber.

Here our energies were put to the test again to collect material sufficiently dry to start a fire; having found a large tree which had fallen down we collected our indifferent fuel about it & after repeated efforts succeeded in getting a wet, smouldering fire with but little heat.

Eleven by the watch found us a little refreshed by the heat & rest but weary & emaciated, weary for rest & emaciate beyond the desire for food even had we any. We made the usual couch of brush & grass before the fire & passed the night watching & sleeping by turns.

Morning discovered to us our position, encamped on a low knoll of hard wood timber & still surrounded on all sides by the wilderness of poplar jungles, tamarac swamps, huge birches & varieties of hard wood. The air still hung with snowy clouds illy promising for the day & coldly bidding us to be active or perhaps perish. Hope never ceased with us & we engaged cheerfully in our morning task "to wit" patching & tying up our

clothing, making up our packs & dressing & cooking "the fish," the only morsel of food we had tasted for twenty-four hours and though scant & but a mere fragment it was no mockery.

We now seemed to take a more sensible view than ever of our "predicament." I had noticed Iddings closely since the yesterday morning & thought a marked change was working upon him; he spoke seldom, indeed we exchanged but few words during the day & then only to decide upon some choice of a path. He too I found had been paying me the same vacant though not disinterested compliment and I was somewhat startled at one time on looking up to find him gazing intently upon my features. While recounting our adventure some time afterward I referred him to that morning & he said he was in fact becoming alarmed at the condition we were in.

But we did not linger long around so uncongenial a camp fire; we left it smouldering and smoking on the bleak, dismal knoll, believing that the mortal who might ever visit that place in his wanderings would say "Whoso that was here was here but for a night."

The snow was now nearly four inches in depth, sufficient to conceal the slippery sticks and roots beneath and every unwary step either brought us prostrate or sent us headlong our packs flying in one direction, our feet in another. Intent upon getting hold of something to eat we made divers onslaughts upon ground mice and squirrels. At one time we had both thrown off our packs and commenced digging after one of the aforesaid quadrupeds; Iddings was sure he saw him run into the hole, but we were not successful in capturing the fellow. Pheasants, unaccustomed to the sight of man would allow us to approach them near enough to throw a club but all our attempts to capture game were fruitless & we soon relapsed into our quiet mode Iddings taking the lead in preference to following.

Thus we continued until about eleven oclock when he sent up a shout which made the wilderness ring & echo again. I soon came up with him & found him opening his pack as he had done the day before. By his side lay a *rabbit* which had been killed but a short time since by some beast of prey; its heart had been eaten out and the blood drank, otherwise it was as nice as it would have been, right from johnny's game-bag.

Think you that two famished men would spurn such a prize, just from dame nature's stalls & prepared for market by one of her daintiest caterers (a timber wolf, no doubt)?

We did not hesitate a moment for whim or prejudice, but expressed our heartfelt gratitude for the prize—manna as it was—and believed that now our journey would terminate with success; we certainly could not be more than another day's travel from Long Prairie.

And we did succeed. At three oclock in the afternoon we reached the point on the river where we had crossed it in making our reconnoissance for a wagon route a month before.

Our trials were now at an end, though it was twelve miles yet to the prairie, to know where we were with reference to that place inspired courage we had long been strangers to.

At ten oclock we roused the inmates of the barricaded house at the prairie & were bade thrice thrice welcome.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

James Baird Weaver (Iowa Biographical Series). By Fred Emory Haynes. (Iowa City, Iowa, The State Historical Society, 1919. xv, 494 p. Portraits.)

The biography of any man who represents a group, large or small, or who typifies a movement of whatever significance in the development of a people, adds materially to available information of social advance in its more comprehensive aspects. General Weaver was not merely representative of an important group; he was perhaps its most outstanding leader, and he embodied as did no other single individual the essence of a movement which has manifested itself in our national development from early colonial days down to the present moment. A study of the life of such a man is something which is worth doing and doing well. Mr. Haynes, in bringing the principal facts of Weaver's life to the attention of students of American development, has added significantly to the readily available material on the agrarian unrest and its causes, as well as on that period which has as yet been inadequately treated by those who have attempted to outline the story of national progress in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. All in all, Mr. Haynes has performed his task intelligently and well.

Two rather short chapters cover Weaver's career down to the outbreak of the Civil War, three more chapters outline his part in that great struggle, and practically all the remainder of the book is devoted to Weaver as a factor in political life. Starting with his activities in the ranks of the Republican party, the author traces in considerable detail General Weaver's career as a political leader in his own state of Iowa, his three terms in Congress, and his campaigns for the presidency. His defection from the older party to join the Greenbackers, the decline of their movement, the carrying forward of certain essential planks from their platform, and the merging of different elements, to a large degree guided by General Weaver, into the People's party of the nineties are presented in order and with much attention to what at times becomes rather wearisome detail.

Mr. Haynes found no vast body of source material for the biography; a brief sketch of his earlier life written by the general in later days, a scrapbook of newspaper clippings, and a small number of unprinted letters afforded so scanty an amount of first hand evidence, that Weaver's printed speeches, both in Congress and out, have been forced into an undue prominence. The very paucity of personal material, exclusive of such speeches, placed upon the author a heavy task which he met by making long and frequent excerpts from sources available to anyone who has access to the *Congressional Record*. When these are used to exemplify different phases of General Weaver's activities, ample justification exists; but when, as so frequently is the case, little if anything new is developed, such prodigality of quotation produces a feeling of monotony. General Weaver's reaction to the various monetary issues was much the same in 1886 as it had been when he addressed his colleagues in the United States House of Representatives in 1876.

Since Weaver was a leader of a cause greater than himself, it would seem not out of place to devote more attention to the setting, even at the expense of some pages of congressional oratory. To describe at greater length the economic depression in the Mississippi Valley in the eighties and the reaction of the agrarian element to that condition might be repetition of what has been written elsewhere, but it would serve to heighten the effect of the leader's attempt to voice that discontent and at the same time would bring his services into stronger relief. More of the story of farmers' alliances, agricultural unions and wheels, labor uneasiness, and their mutual interaction might be told with no loss to the treatment of the central theme. Furthermore, on the broader topic, there still remains a mass of material as yet unused which would have enriched a biography of this nature. The Donnelly Papers of the Minnesota Historical Society, for example, contain a wealth of unexploited material bearing directly on this issue. Local and evanescent publications, of which the times produced so ample a store, form a treasury on which the student of farmers' economic problems and their political consequences may draw without fear of exhausting the supply.

It is doubtless of no avail to add yet another protest against an editorial policy which persists in relegating to certain pages

in the back of the book what customarily forms the footnotes in other publications. The careful student will turn to these pages to ascertain whence the writer derived certain facts on which he based certain conclusions, but he will do so reluctantly, regretting that all the world cannot see eye to eye with himself.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

With the Colors from Anoka County. By Roe Chase. (1919. 175 p. Illustrations.)

Goodhue County in the World War. (Red Wing, Minnesota, Red Wing Printing Company, 1919. 192, 55a p. Illustrations.)

Waseca County, Minnesota, in the World War. (Waseca, Minnesota, *Journal Radical,* 1919. 224 p. Illustrations.)

In the World War, 1917-1918-1919: Watonwan County, Minnesota. Edited by Will Curtis. (St. James, Minnesota, *St. James Plaindealer.* Illustrations.)

In commemoration of the services rendered by the people of their several counties in the prosecution of the late war, local publishers throughout the state are compiling and printing county war histories. Among the first of these to appear are the volumes which contain the war records of Anoka, Goodhue, Waseca, and Watonwan counties. A general similarity of purpose and content naturally characterizes the group. Each book is dedicated primarily "to the memory of those men . . . who gave their lives that this world might be a better place in which to live." A major part of each volume is devoted to individual photographs and brief statements of the services of soldiers, sailors, marines, and nurses from the county. In another main section is given some account of the war work done by organizations and individuals in the home community, accompanied by photographs of local leaders and committees and by other illustrative material. Something of the general course of events which occasioned these activities, and in the shaping of which some of the men from the county directly participated, is indicated by the inclusion of historical resumés, chronologies, or reports relating to the World War, and of portraits of the military and political leaders of the United States and of the allied nations. Somewhere in the book

recognition is always given to the local veterans of earlier wars. The numerous photographic reproductions in each are uniformly excellent.

In a number of important particulars *With the Colors from Anoka County* is unique. It combines a maximum of historical fact with a minimum of ornamentation. An unusual amount of space, four-fifths of the volume, is devoted to historical narrative which is unusually broad in scope. This opens with a review of the military participation of the county in former wars and of local reactions to events in Europe and on the Mexican border before the entrance of the United States into the World War. Then follows a comprehensive record of the county's activities during the period of the war, in which its effects on the life of the home community are clearly reflected. Strictly speaking, the account as a whole is not a historical narrative but a chronicle treating of events in a single series, uninterrupted except by the frequent introduction of lists of names of selective service men, war workers, and registered aliens, and of documentary and graphic material such as official ordinances, soldiers' letters, and reproductions of patriotic notices and appeals. The narrative portions are written in a spirited but not effusive style; the emphasis is upon the presentation of facts rather than upon the bestowal of credit; and events and conditions which, from a superficial point of view, might be thought to detract from the county's record of loyal service, are not ignored. Photographs distributed throughout the text are relatively small in size and, so far as they represent civilian war workers, are limited to portraits of state and local leaders. In a final section of thirty-five pages, the usual individual recognition is accorded to the service men. Unfortunately, especially in a work so packed with useful information, there is no index.

The Goodhue, Waseca, and Watonwan histories have much in common. In appearance, at least, these volumes approximate the "college annual" type of publication with its handsome binding, glossy paper, varied typography, ornamental borders, decorative backgrounds, symbolical illustrations, and prominence given to photographs of participants in the life and activities represented. In the last named respect the resemblance is perhaps most marked in the Waseca history, where an entire page is

alloted to the photographs and names of the members of each of some forty local committees and groups. There is no table of contents in any of the books, and only one, the Goodhue history, has an index. An even more serious fault is the lack of a title-page and of pagination in the Watonwan history.

About half of each volume is devoted to the soldiers. Those who lost their lives in the service are specially honored as individuals and as a group. In the Goodhue and Waseca histories the printed records of other service men average two or three short lines, but in the Watonwan history they are exceptionally full and are supplemented by intimate narratives of personal experiences contained in a section entitled "Stories from the Battle Front."

The record of local war activities is allowed proportionally equal space in two of the books, but in the third, *Goodhue County in the World War,* only one-sixth of the volume is set aside for this purpose. All three present this phase of the subject in a more or less systematically arranged series of narratives dealing severally with the work of the special war agencies such as the draft board, the American Red Cross, the War Loan Organization, and the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, and with the war activities of established institutions such as churches, schools, libraries, and newspapers. In the Watonwan history a special subdivision is devoted to individual photographs and records of some five hundred local civilian war workers. Generally speaking, accounts of the work of organizations are summary in character and are accompanied by lists of names of the officers and members of war organizations and tabulated statements of the results achieved. No important organized effort in the home community has been overlooked, except in the Goodhue history where there appears to be no mention of the work of food or of fuel conservation beyond a ten line paragraph on the "Food Conservation Advertising Committee." The amount of space alloted to the several kinds of war service varies considerably and is not always a criterion of their relative importance. In the Waseca history, for example, a total of seventy pages is devoted to accounts of "Liberty Loans," "Red Cross Activities," and "United War Workers," and only one or two each to such agencies as the draft board and the public safety

commission. Credit is generously, and in the Waseca history lavishly, bestowed upon all who participated in patriotic activities. There appears to be a tendency, least marked in the Watonwan history, to present only the brighter side of the picture. A county is indeed unique of which it can truthfully be said that "patriotism and loyalty were the two lone words in every citizen's vocabulary."

It is not surprising that none of the four pioneer works under review is altogether without defects of organization which impair its clearness, its accuracy, and its usefulness as a book of reference. The general nature of these shortcomings may perhaps be best indicated by a discussion of a tentative plan for a county war history which has been formulated as a result of a careful study of the problem as presented in the four books in hand. The reviewer hopes that the suggestions contained in this plan may be found useful by compilers of similar works. To facilitate description, let it be assumed that a history based upon this plan has actually materialized and is now under examination.

This imaginary volume is divided into four parts as follows: part one presents in narrative form the story of the war services of the county considered primarily from the point of view of the county as a whole; part two is devoted to the service records of individuals, mostly soldiers; in part three is assembled all material of a documentary or purely statistical nature; part four sets forth the personnel and organization of the various local war agencies. The four sections are clearly distinguished from one another by dividing pages and appropriate subtitles.

The story of the county's collective services is told in a series of chapters covering all phases of the subject. Considerations of chronological order, relative significance, and logical relationship govern the arrangement of the series and of the contents of the several chapters. The story opens with a survey of leading events in the European war and an account of its effects upon the sympathies and opinions of the people of the county during the period of American neutrality. Succeeding chapters entitled "The Declaration of War," "The Call to the Colors," and "County Men and Women in the Service" contain accounts of the community's first response to the call of war, of the recruiting of volunteers and the operation of the selective draft, and of the

men and women, viewed as a group, who represented the county with the armed forces of the nation. The work of three of the most important civilian organizations is then described in chapters on "The County Branch of the Public Safety Commission," "Financing the War," and "The Red Cross." The next chapter, entitled "Army and Social Welfare Work," deals with the separate and united efforts put forth in the county on behalf of the service men by the Young Men's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, Salvation Army, and other leading welfare agencies. Similar activities designed to increase the morale of the home community are also discussed in this chapter. The state of the public mind in the early days of American participation, the educational and inspirational work of newspapers, churches, schools, America First Association, Four Minute Men, and other agencies, the loyalty issue in politics, the suppression of disloyalty, and similar topics are treated in a chapter on "The Mobilization of Public Opinion." A series of chapters follow which discuss at length the economic, agricultural, industrial, and commercial aspects of the county's war record, under the titles, "Food Conservation and Production," "The Fuel Administration," and "Industry and Commerce." The story closes with "The Return of Peace," a chapter telling of the local celebration of the signing of the armistice, the homecoming of the service men, the formation of veterans' associations, the conversion of local wartime agencies to the uses of peace, and the permanent changes wrought by the war in the life of the home community. The photographs and illustrations which accompany the narrative throughout are placed so far as possible with strict regard to their bearing upon the text. In part two of the book, the photographs and service records of individuals appear in clearly distinguished groups corresponding to the following classes of service men and war workers; men who lost their lives in the service, the boys who returned, army welfare workers and others associated with the armed forces of the country, civilians conspicuous in the war work of the home community. To facilitate the location of the record of any particular individual, the order of arrangement in each group is strictly alphabetical in accordance with the names of the persons recorded. As a safeguard against mistakes in identification the photograph and service record of each individual

are placed in exact juxtaposition or are given corresponding numbers.

Parts three and four of the volume serve to relieve the historical narrative, in part one, of a vast amount of matter which though pertinent and instructive would by reason of its form or nature seriously interrupt the thread of the narrative at frequent intervals. In part three is assembled documentary material such as soldiers' letters, citations, programs of patriotic meetings, proclamations, and resolutions, and statistical matter such as financial statements of war agencies and tabulated reports of results of the various drives. This material is arranged primarily with reference to its form. Part four is a directory of names and addresses of officers and members of committees of county and local branches of the several organizations active in war work in the county.

The volume is provided with a table of contents and an index. The latter is broadly analytical and for the most part topical in character. It includes, however, names of individuals except when the reference would be to the main alphabetical rosters of service men in part two.

FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK

The 88th Division in the World War of 1914–1918. (New York, Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Company, 1919. 236 p. Illustrations.)

The Eighty-eighth Division contained a large quota of drafted men from Minnesota and many of its officers, including its first assignment of junior officers, received military training as members of the first two reserve officer's training camps at Fort Snelling. Consequently, a history of the division is a significant addition to the ever increasing printed record of Minnesota's part in the World War. The arrangement of the present volume follows a form which has already become conventional in the writing of such histories. After all, these accounts must be similar, since the experiences of nearly every division or unit which reached France are typical of the story of the entire American Expeditionary Force. This limitation becomes less serious when viewed in the light of the comparatively small number of readers of a

history of any one unit. Even if it has literary merit, such a book can scarcely be of general interest; it is significant only to the members of that unit, to their acquaintances, or, as is here the case, to the inhabitants of the locality from which a majority of the combatants originally came. While a list of the soldiers of the Eighty-eighth Division who were cited for bravery (pp. 68–75) is of vital interest to Minnesotans it can have but slight meaning for the inhabitants of Louisiana or of Pennsylvania.

This volume is divided into two principal parts, the first devoted to a narrative account of the experiences of the division, the second to a roster or "complete list of every officer and man who served with the 88th Division in the A. E. F." The narrative, in turn, is divided into three parts, each of which deals with one of the broad periods in the history of the division as follows: (1) organization and training in the United States, (2) training and active service in France, (3) events subsequent to the signing of the armistice. The scene of the opening period was Camp Dodge. The story of the conversion of the camping ground of the Iowa National Guard into a fully equipped cantonment with all the conveniences and facilities of a city, of the organization there of the various units of the division under the direction of Major General Edward H. Plummer, and of the arrival at the post of thousands of drafted men from Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, and Illinois, is one that is typical of the occurrences during the summer of 1917 in fifteen similar camps throughout the United States. The brief space devoted to this tale of vast achievement perhaps helps to impress upon the reader the speed with which it was accomplished. Training the men who came "from their comfortable homes, most of them without any conception of military life," and transporting them to France was a longer process; therefore this portion of the division's experience is described at greater length. The most extensive chapter of the narrative deals with the few weeks from October 18 to November 11, 1918, the time when the events for which the division had been training during more than a year took place, the period of active service in France. This discussion is preceded by a concise outline of the life of Major General William Weigel, the man who successfully guided the

division through the great crisis of its existence. "After the Armistice" is the title of the third main division. Herein the tale of the dreary months of waiting to return to the United States, which has been told by thousands of Americans who served in France, is repeated.

The coöperation of a group of officers in the preparation of the narrative is doubtless responsible for the publication therein of some interesting official orders and records. One of these, for example, is the secret field order directing "the distribution of troops under the first allotment of positions" when the division made its initial appearance in the trenches (p. 42). The volume is attractively bound and excellently illustrated with photographs of officers and men and of the localities through which they passed in their travels here and abroad.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

Granville: Tales and Tail Spins from a Flyer's Diary. (New York and Cincinnati, The Abingdon Press, 1919. 176 p. Illustrations.)

Books and pamphlets relating to the World War are now appearing with bewildering rapidity. There are histories of divisions and of smaller units, narratives of the actual experiences of soldiers and newspaper correspondents, reports of the several war agencies, and stories based on fact or fiction. Among these works are to be noted the compilations of letters and diaries of soldiers. To this latter class belongs *Granville.* Dedicated to the "memory of Granville and to the thousands who helped to win the war on this side" it is a record of the service rendered to his country by Granville Guttersen, son of Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert Guttersen of St. Paul.

Granville was a member of the Aviation Corps of the United States Army. Because of his proficiency he was commissioned a second lieutenant and sent as an instructor to the San Leon Gunnery School, where, much to his regret, he spent most of the period of the war. The armistice was signed just as he was about to embark from New York. Shortly afterward he returned to Texas where he succumbed to pneumonia.

The first and shorter part of the book is composed of a part of Granville's letters written to his family from the training camp

at Austin, Texas, where he was a student, and from Houston. These letters serve as an introduction to his diary, which does not begin until August 31, 1918, and they clearly reveal the character of the writer. That they are not as detailed as others that have been made public, can probably be explained by the fact that the writer was going through the grilling and strenuous training of a student aviator who in three months must master the work of one year. They are filled with short scenes of camp life and experiences. One letter in particular is worthy of attention. It contains advice to his father on how to welcome the stranger in khaki—advice which will be keenly appreciated by any former service man.

The second part, the diary, is especially interesting. Here the reader finds the "Granny" so well liked by his associates emerging from the account of his experiences, hopes, and disappointments. Here, too, are portrayed the work and play in the life of an officer in camp and the agreeable and disagreeable sides of an instructor's duties. Written in a simple, straightforward manner, the diary records the impressions and stray thoughts of the moment and treats of the serious and amusing incidents of a soldier's daily life.

The greater part of the story relates to the writer's hopes and disappointments with reference to his overwhelming ambition to reach France and get into active service. There is hardly a letter or a notation in the diary which does not have some allusion to his chance to "get across." His comments after many failures to secure the coveted overseas assignment are typical: "If Uncle Sammy won't let me go across, I'll have to get married to make me feel right about it. I'd a helluva lot rather go across though." "Boy, I wouldn't have the face to face anyone after this mess is cleaned up and admit that I, a single man with no one dependent on me, had been an instructor . . . while married men or men with dependents had 'gone West,' doing my work in France."

The value of this book lies in the fact that it contains the letters and diary of a soldier who typifies the highest ideals of American manhood. One cannot read it without feeling proud that this soldier was a fellow citizen.

CECIL W. SHIRK

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The stated meeting of the executive council on October 13, furnished the occasion for the reading of two interesting papers on comparatively recent subjects in Minnesota history. These were "The Last Indian Uprising in the United States (Leech Lake, Minnesota, 1898)," by Lieutenant Commander Louis H. Roddis of the medical corps of the United States Navy, and "Recruiting Engineers for the World War in Minnesota," by George W. McCree, who was civilian aid to the adjutant general of the United States during the war.

Three organizations have held meetings in the auditorium recently: the Minnesota society, Sons of the American Revolution, September 18; the Lyndale Reading Circle of Minneapolis, October 7; and the Merriam Park Woman's Club of St. Paul, October 29. At the last two of these meetings the work of the society's museum was explained by the curator, Mr. Babcock.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending October 31, 1919: Bertha L. Heilbron of St. Paul; C. Ernest Lagerstrom and Andrew J. Lobb of Minneapolis; J. Anton Ochs and Richard Pfefferle of New Ulm; Frank M. Kaisersatt of Faribault; Leland S. Stallings of Breckenridge; Ida A. Kovisto of Wadena; George L. Treat of Alexandria; and William K. Coffin of Eau Claire, Wisconsin. Deaths during the same period include those of one active member, George Reis of Los Angeles, California, October 4; and one corresponding member, General Philip Reade of Boston, Massachusetts, October 21. The deaths of the Reverend William DeLoss Love of Hartford, Connecticut, April 8, 1918, and Charles Conrad Abbott of Bristol, Pennsylvania, July 17, 1919, both corresponding members, have not heretofore been noted in the BULLETIN.

An instance of the value of the society's library to the state was afforded recently in connection with the case between Minnesota and Wisconsin in the United States Supreme Court over the location of the boundary line in Duluth Harbor. This case involved historical questions as to what had been looked upon in the past as the mouth of the St. Louis River and also what had been the principal route of navigation through the waters of St. Louis Bay. The Wisconsin attorneys included in their brief a very elaborate discussion of this subject with references to a great many books and documents, and it was necessary for the Minnesota attorneys to check over this material and locate additional evidence on the subject if possible. Practically all the books and documents needed for this work were found to be available in the library of the society.

Some progress was made during the summer in the work of sorting and disposing of duplicate material in the library. About two thousand volumes of supposedly duplicate congressional documents were checked over with a view to replacing imperfect copies and filling in gaps in the classified sets. What were left were then offered as gifts to various Minnesota libraries with the result, so far, that 617 volumes have been taken by the library of Carleton College, 65 by the Minneapolis Public Library, 33 by the library of the Macalester College, and 15 by the Minnesota State Library. Of miscellaneous duplicate books about a thousand were sorted, checked, and listed so that they can now be offered to other libraries in exchange for their duplicates. Thousands of documents of states other than Minnesota were also sorted and checked over preliminary to classification, and about 1,300 of these documents which proved to be duplicates or outside the society's fields of collection were turned over to the state library to help fill in its incomplete sets.

Most of the cases in the east hall of the museum are being used at present for an exhibition of World War objects. The Backus collection illustrating the activities of an aviator, material brought back from France by Colonel Leach, articles made by wounded soldiers at Fort Snelling, and military badges used by various British regiments are included in the exhibition.

The number of visitors to the museum during fair week was 2,846 by actual count. This is an average of 569 a day for five days, for the building was closed on Monday—Labor Day.

From the opening of the schools in September until November 1, the museum was visited by nine classes totalling 343 pupils.

In response to numerous requests the history hours in the museum, which were suspended during the summer, have been resumed. On Saturday, October 11, about one hundred children listened to a talk on the Red River cart as an aid to the settlement of the Northwest. One hundred and eighty children from thirty-five schools, including a delegation from the Seward School in Minneapolis, responded to the second invitation, for the talk on the fur trade on October 25. These history hours are to be held throughout the winter on the second and fourth Saturdays of the month at three o'clock. They are intended for children in the grades from the fourth to the eighth, inclusive.

The personnel of the staff changed somewhat during the quarter ending October 31. The position of curator of the museum, made vacant September 1 by the resignation of Miss Ruth O. Roberts, was filled by the transfer of Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., who had previously held the position of editorial assistant. The vacancy thus created in the editorial division was filled by the appointment of Miss Bertha L. Heilbron. Miss Emma M. Larson became reference assistant September 24 in the place of Miss Dora C. Jett, whose resignation took effect August 15; and Miss Olive J. Clark succeeds Mrs. Rose M. Dunlap as museum assistant November 1.

Gifts

A collection of about twenty-five letters written, with a few exceptions, by the Reverend Richard Hall, a well-known pioneer missionary of the Congregational church in Minnesota, has been presented by his nephew, Mr. Grosvenor Buck of St. Paul. Hall came to Minnesota in 1850 and for a number of years served as

pastor of a church at Point Douglas and preached in various surrounding communities. From 1856 to 1874 he was superintendent of the American Home Missionary Society for Minnesota. The most valuable of the letters are those written in Point Douglas and St. Paul in the fifties and sixties, which relate interesting incidents of pioneer days and contain information about frontier living conditions and the early history of Congregational missions in the state. A trip on the frozen river from Point Douglas to St. Paul is described in a letter of 1861, and the missionary complains of the high cost of living in a letter of 1864, when wood sold for between six and seven dollars a cord and oats for eighty cents a bushel. Three journals of Hall's missionary correspondence were deposited with the society shortly after his death in 1907.

A series of eight account books kept in New York in the first decades of the nineteenth century have been presented by Professor Thomas G. Lee of the University of Minnesota. The accounts are largely those of the general store of Robert T. Shaw, though one appears to be a doctor's ledger with entries covering the years from 1828 to 1834, when doctors made calls for twenty-five and fifty cents, dispensed "liniment" at fifteen cents a bottle and pills for one cent each, and extracted teeth at the bargain price of eighteen and three-fourths cents. A set of apothecary's scales of the type used in pioneer drug stores, two foot stoves, and a silver caster have also been received from Dr. Lee.

Three letters of special interest have been donated by Mrs. Fred A. Bill of St. Paul. Two of these were written by the brothers Joseph and Thomas McMaster in the early winter of 1856 from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Read's Landing, Minnesota, respectively. They discuss, aside from family affairs, a projected printing establishment at Read's Landing to be set up by Joseph McMaster with the help of William R. Marshall, afterwards governor of the state, and other interested parties. The third letter was written by Stuart Cherry, a writing master in the Collegiate Institute of Liverpool, to Mrs. William C. McMaster at Read's Landing in August, 1861, and discusses the attitude of the English toward the Civil War in America.

Miss Helen Castle has recently presented some papers of her father's, the late Captain Henry A. Castle of St. Paul and expects to turn over additional papers at some future time.

A group of records of missionary societies of the Presbyterian church in Minnesota presented by Mrs. Julius E. Miner of Minneapolis includes the minutes of the Woman's Synodical Society of Home Missions of Minnesota, from 1900 to 1916, and records of the Home Missionary Society of Westminster Church, Minneapolis, from 1883 to 1895.

A small collection of papers and two record books of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Paul covering the years 1872 to 1894 has been deposited in the society's manuscript collection by Mr. Benjamin O. Chapman, an official of the House of Hope Church.

Miss Alta H. Merritt of St. Paul has presented a series of letters written by her brother, Glenn J. Merritt of Duluth, while he was on duty with a Harvard ambulance unit in the World War. The letters reflect the experiences of the writer in the training camp in this country and in the work of relief at the front in France and Italy. They are accompanied by a very fine collection of pictures taken by Mr. Merritt, which illustrate further this branch of Red Cross service.

A United States land patent issued to William Prichard in 1857 for a tract of land in the Red Wing district, Minnesota Territory, has been received from Edward A. Bromley of Minneapolis. This patent is especially interesting because it illustrates the time honored practice of drawing upon the public domain for military bounties. It was issued in exchange for a land warrant in favor of Levi P. Henry, a veteran of the "Florida War," the warrant having been assigned to Prichard, who "located" it upon the land covered by the patent.

A valuable addition to the material concerning the Sully expedition of 1864 has recently been received from Mr. D. J. Dodge of Minneapolis. This is a blue print copy of a manuscript map showing the route traveled by this expedition from Fort Ridgely

to the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers. The map also indicates the point where Captain Fiske's company was rescued from an attack by the Indians. The original was drawn in 1864 by James S. Stoddard of Company C, Second Minnesota Cavalry.

The original document of the "Greetings from the Norwegian Storting to the Minnesota Legislature," dated July 15, 1919, which was delivered by the Honorable Edward Indrehus of Foley to the Minnesota House of Representatives, September 15, 1919, has been turned over to the society for preservation.

The presidential campaign of 1912 is the subject of a collection of newspaper clippings and cartoons recently presented to the society by Mr. William W. Cutler of St. Paul. The collection was made by his sister, Miss Ruth Cutler, who died in Paris in the winter of 1918, while in the service of the American Red Cross. The clippings, which have been taken almost exclusively from the *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* are arranged under the four headings of candidates, state primaries, campaign issues, and miscellaneous, while the candidates in turn are grouped by political parties. Of special interest are the cartoons included in the collection.

Mrs. Charles P. Noyes has presented to the society a copy of a work entitled *A Family History in Letters and Documents, 1667–1837* (St. Paul, 1919. 2v.), which she has compiled and had printed for private distribution. It is concerned with the forefathers of Mrs. Noyes's parents, Winthrop Sargent Gilman and Abia Swift Lippincott, and contains a mass of carefully edited material of great value to the student of social and economic conditions. Photostatic copies of the original manuscripts of some of the documents printed in the volume have also been presented by Mrs. Noyes.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Oliver S. Morris, editor of the *Nonpartisan Leader,* the society has received a back file of this publication from its beginning on September 23, 1915, to the end of 1917, from which time copies have been received regularly as issued. The file, therefore, is now complete from the beginning.

Many of the back numbers are exceedingly scarce and Mr. Morris went to considerable trouble and expense and exhausted almost every resource to collect them all. The *Nonpartisan Leader* is the official organ of the National Nonpartisan League, with headquarters in St. Paul, and a file of the paper will be indispensable to the future students of the history of the Northwest during recent years.

Gifts of books, pamphlets, and periodical files received during the quarter ending October 31, include, besides numerous single items, considerable collections from Mr. John R. Swan of Madison, Mrs. Charles W. Bunn of St. Paul, the Oakland Cemetery Association of St. Paul, and several departments of the state government.

The most notable collection of museum material relating to the World War as yet received is that brought back from France by the 151st United States Field Artillery and recently deposited with the society by Colonel Leach, the commanding officer of the regiment. It includes a German anti-tank gun, German body armor which is strikingly similar to that worn by the medieval knights, machine guns, trench catapults, torpedo flares, helmets, mustard gas shells, and other items too numerous to mention. Colonel Leach expects to add to the collection from time to time.

Mr. and Mrs. Clinton J. Backus of St. Paul have deposited in the museum a large collection of World War specimens assembled by their sons Clinton and David, both of whom were aviators with the American Expeditionary Force in France.

Captain George R. G. Fisher of St. Paul, who was in charge of the Red Cross work in Winchester, England, during the war, has deposited with the society his valuable collection of the badges and insignia worn by British regiments in which Americans served. Coldstreams, Grenadier Guards, Scots Greys, and many other famous old regiments as well as newer special organizations are represented.

Mr. Robert L. Schofield of Tacoma, Washington, has deposited with the society an extensive collection of museum objects illus-

trating early American domestic life. Mr. Schofield's grandfather, Dr. John L. Schofield, was one of the first settlers of Northfield, Minnesota, and many of the specimens were used in the old home there.

Colonel Jeremiah C. Donahower of St. Paul has added to his many gifts to the society an interesting old photograph of a train of Red River carts, taken about 1857 at the corner of Third and Washington streets, St. Paul, and a number of medals, badges, and coins of historic interest.

From the Honorable Elmer E. Adams of Fergus Falls, the society has received a number of panorama views of that city taken just after the cyclone of last June.

A war club said to have been used by Sitting Bull at the time of the Custer massacre, a model of a Sioux tipi, a bead chain, and specimens of Indian work in birchbark are recent gifts from Mr. Charles M. Loring of Minneapolis.

An old-fashioned clock, manufactured in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1841, is a gift from Mr. Lee E. Edson of Austin.

Portraits in pastel of Mr. and Mrs. John Eastman, who were pioneers in St. Anthony, have been added to the society's collection of pictures of the early settlers by Mrs. Mary Greenlaw of Minneapolis.

A large framed lithograph of St. Paul in 1867 with the streets and important buildings named has been presented to the society by Mrs. Sidora A. Bourne of St. Paul.

NEWS AND COMMENT

When the first American expedition to Minnesota was making its way up the Mississippi above the falls of St. Anthony in October, 1805, and had reached a point about four miles below the site of Little Falls, the commander, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, decided to leave part of his men and equipment there in winter quarters. Consequently a stockade about thirty-six feet square with blockhouses at two corners was erected on the west bank of the Mississippi near the mouth of Swan River. Three quarters of a century later, in 1880, the site of this stockade was located by Judge Nathan Richardson of Little Falls, who was writing a history of the county, and in 1894 the location was verified by Dr. Elliot Coues, who was then engaged in preparing his edition of Pike's *Expeditions*. Dr. Coues urged that the site be marked and some time thereafter this was done by means of the inscription "Pike's Fort Built 1805" carved on a boulder. Recently the Daughters of the American Revolution took steps to secure the erection of an appropriate monument to mark the site. An old fireplace was found still intact and this together with the old marker was incorporated in a monument in the shape of a pyramid in which was embedded a bronze tablet bearing the following inscription: "These assembled stones formed the chimney of the first block house built in what is now known as Minnesota, in October, 1805, by Lieut. Zebulon Montgomery Pike, explorer and surveyor of the Louisiana Purchase. The place is marked by the citizens of Little Falls and by the Daughters of the American Revolution in appreciation of this service, September 27th, 1919." At the dedication exercises, Mrs. James T. Morris, state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution told the story of Pike's expedition and Mr. Lyman Ayer unveiled the monument. The newspaper articles occasioned by the erection and dedication of this monument almost invariably state that the structure erected by Pike was the "first house" in Minnesota and refer to Mr. Ayer as the "first white child born in Minnesota." In the interests of historical accuracy it should be said that houses had

been erected in Minnesota by French and British fur traders many years before 1805 and that a number of white children had been born at Fort Snelling prior to the birth of Lyman Ayer at the Pokegama Mission in 1834.

The annual convention of the Society of American Indians was held in Minneapolis on October 2, 3, and 4. Representatives of the various North American tribes who were present included Dr. Charles A. Eastman, a Minnesota Sioux who is the author of numerous books relating to the history and life of his race; Dr. Carlos Montezuma, a Chicago physician of note; and Miss Gertrude Bonnin, an author and musician. In connection with the convention Dr. Eastman's pageant, "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," was presented, the author playing the part of Pontiac. In an article entitled "The Melting Pot and the Indians," the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 5, points out the Indians' contributions to American life and the distinguishing characteristics of members of the various tribes who attended the convention.

On October 7 the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers joined with the Pioneer Rivermen's Association, the St. Croix Valley Old Settlers' Association, and other organizations in a great celebration at Taylor's Falls. The occasion was the one hundredth birthday of John Daubney who came to Minnesota in 1845 and who is today the sole surviving member of the Minnesota Old Settlers' Association, an organization of pioneers who were of age and were residents of Minnesota on January 1, 1850. A banquet served at the Dalles House, one of the oldest structures in Taylor's Falls, and speeches by Minnesota pioneers recalling incidents of historical interest in Mr. Daubney's long career as a Minnesotan were features of the celebration.

The forty-fifth annual meeting of the St. Croix Valley Old Settlers' Association was held in Stillwater on September 17.

The articles on Minnesota, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia Americana,* now in process of publication, are by E. Dudley Parsons. The first of these, which may be found in volume 19 (1919), contains a surprisingly

large number of erroneous and misleading statements. The point where the eastern boundary of the state leaves the St. Croix river is not "the western bend" of that stream, and the line does not run north "until it strikes the extreme western end of Lake Superior." The statement that "With the exception of a short portage the way from Lake Superior to the Red River was open along the northern boundary" would be nearer the truth if the Lake of the Woods were substituted for the Red River. The modest statement that "There are over a thousand lakes in the State" ought to be of interest to the Ten Thousand Lakes Association of Minnesota. The reader's surprise at learning that "the state has been remarkably free from destructive storms" becomes astonishment when he discovers that "In Minnesota are found all the plants and animals of the north temperate zone." After observing that, according to the table of agricultural statistics, the number of farms in the state was exactly the same in 1917 as it had been in 1910, one is inclined to doubt the accuracy of the figures which show that from 1910 to 1917 the number of swine declined almost fifty per cent and the number of sheep over 60 per cent.

The section of the article headed "History" opens with the unqualified statement that Radisson and Grossileurs [*sic!*] "made treaties with the Dakota and Chippewa Indians in 1656 and 1659." It is true that some investigators interpret the scanty evidence to indicate that these men were in the upper Mississippi country in 1656, but one wonders on whose behalf they "made treaties" and what were the terms of those documents. Carver's journey up the Minnesota did not extend "nearly to its source." It is stated that "Upon the purchase of Louisiana, which included Minnesota west of the Mississippi, the eastern part belonging first to Michigan, then to Wisconsin, the United States government determined to explore the territory." The difficulty here may be lack of clearness rather than actual misstatement. At any rate, the facts are as follows: at the time of the purchase of Louisiana, the eastern part of Minnesota was nominally included within Indiana Territory, having previously been a part of the Northwest Territory. Later it was included in Illinois Territory and not until 1818 did it become a part of Michigan. The explorations of Beltrami and Long occurred in 1823, and not,

therefore, "a little later" than Schoolcraft's discovery of Lake Itasca in 1832.

In the article on Minneapolis, Minnehaha is translated "Curling Water," although the unsigned article on Minnehaha Falls on the same page gives the translation correctly "laughing water." The date of the government sawmill at St. Anthony Falls is given as 1823, although the correct date, 1821, appears in the article on Minnesota. This mill was not used for grinding flour, but a separate flour mill was erected in 1823. The statistics in the article on the Minnesota Historical Society are very much out of date, having been gathered, apparently, about six years ago, and the society's new building is not mentioned. An unsigned article on the Red River of the North in volume 23 contains the surprising statement that "The Red River is connected with the Mississippi through its southern branch, Lake Traverse, and the Minnesota River. At high water small steamers can pass from the Red River to the Mississippi." The only foundation for this statement is the fact that perhaps once in a generation a flood makes it possible for a rowboat to pass between the two water systems.

The 1918 number of *Acta Et Dicta,* the publication of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, which has just appeared, is accompanied by a statement that the 1919 number may be expected before the end of the year. From the viewpoint of the student of Minnesota history, "Notes on the History of the Diocese of Duluth," by the Reverend Patrick J. Lydon, is perhaps the most valuable article in the present issue. This outline of the work of the Catholic church in northeastern Minnesota includes a discussion of the Catholic missionaries to the Indians beginning with 1852; the story of the establishment of the diocese of Duluth; the brief history of each Catholic parish, society, and institution in the city of Duluth; and brief historical sketches of all other parishes within the diocese. Although the author presents a comprehensive discussion of his subject in convenient form, he is not always historically accurate, for he makes the statement that Father Francis Pirz "was the only Indian missionary in Minnesota" in 1852 (p. 239). Perhaps the author neglected to include the word "Catholic," since he must be aware

that at this time Protestant missionaries had been working among the Minnesota Indians for nearly twenty years. This number of *Acta Et Dicta* contains the third installment of Archbishop John Ireland's "Life of the Rt. Rev. Joseph Cretin, First Bishop of the Diocese of St. Paul." The chapters herein published deal with Cretin's farewell to France, his voyage from Havre to New York, and his trip thence by railroad, canal, and river to St. Louis. They are based upon the pioneer bishop's diary of his journey which is in the form of letters to his sister. His description of traveling conditions and detailed records of his first impressions of New York and the American people make intensely interesting reading. "In Memoriam—Right Reverend James McGolrick," is a valuable supplement to the notes on the Duluth diocese, since the subject was the first Bishop of Duluth. An article on "The Beginning and Growth of the Catholic Church in the State of Montana" is contributed by the Reverend Cyril Pauwelyn, and the completion of half a century of good work is commemorated in "The House of the Good Shepherd in St. Paul, A Retrospect of Fifty Years." "Contemporary Items" and "Obituary Notices" appear as formerly, but the usual section devoted to documents is omitted.

The *North Star,* a monthly magazine published in Minneapolis, is running a series of articles by Theodore C. Blegen relating to the history of Norwegian immigration to America. The October number contains the first installment of "Ole Rynning and the America Book," which is largely based on the translation, with introduction, by Mr. Blegen of Rynning's work in the BULLETIN for November, 1917. "There are some new matters brought out, especially by way of comment and interpretation, and in the comparison of the early books on Norse immigration."

Two accounts of the activities of Mrs. Eugenia B. Farmer of St. Paul in promoting the woman suffrage movement during more than half a century appear in the *St. Paul Daily News* for August 31 and November 16. Since 1901 Mrs. Farmer has had charge of the press work for the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association. Although now eighty-four years of age, she is participating in the work of the League of Women Voters.

The history of the lumber milling industry in Minneapolis is well outlined in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 19. Lumber milling has been a phase in the industrial development of most American communities where forests and water power have been found side by side. As the forests have disappeared, however, the mills have been removed to the more remote, unexploited districts. After nearly a century of development, the history of the lumber industry around St. Anthony Falls closed in September when the last Minneapolis sawmill, that of the Northland Pine Company, ceased to operate. The center of the Minnesota lumbering business has shifted to the northern part of the state. A number of excellent illustrations, one of which shows a series of log marks, accompany the article.

Captain George B. Merrick's "Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi: Descriptive, Personal and Historical," the greater portion of which is published in the issues of the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, from September, 1913 (see *ante,* 1:72) to November, 1918, is now being concluded in that paper. In this work the names of all steamboats that have "floated up on the waters of the upper river" are listed in alphabetical order and each name is accompanied by a brief historical sketch, which often includes interesting anecdotes and biographical notes on old rivermen. Captain Merrick, who had been compiling records for this work for thirty years, had nearly completed the accounts of the boats beginning with the letter *t,* when he was stricken with an illness which for the time rendered him incapable of continuing the task. The assistance of Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul, however, has enabled the author to resume the work, and the first of the new installments appears in the *Post* for September 27. Most of the boats listed plied the waters of the Mississippi within the area of Minnesota; thus the record is a valuable contribution to the history of the state.

The "Reminiscences" of Dr. Cyrus Northrop, president emeritus of the University of Minnesota, are being published serially in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly.* The first installment, in the issue of October 27, presents an interesting picture of rural New England before the Civil War and induces anticipation of

valuable contributions to Minnesota history in later installments. It is to be hoped that the "Reminiscences" will ultimately appear in book form.

In the section entitled "State Builders of the West," the issues of the *Western Magazine* for August and September contain sketches of "Andrew Ryan McGill, Tenth Governor of Minnesota," and of "William Rush Merriam, Eleventh Governor of Minnesota."

Warren Upham of the Minnesota Historical Society staff is the author of a series of nine "brief articles dealing with the early history of Minnesota, covering a period of 30 years from 1805." They are published weekly under the heading, "Little Journeys Through Early Minnesota History," in the Sunday editions of the *Minneapolis Journal* beginning July 27 and ending September 21. Seven of the papers deal with the explorations of such men as Pike, Long, and Schoolcraft; the remaining two treat of the founding of Fort Snelling. Such papers are of very real value in familiarizing the public with the work of the men who first ventured into the unknown wilds of what is today the state of Minnesota. Mr. Upham not only summarizes the explorations of these men but also presents sketches of their lives and extracts from their journals and diaries. A basis for further study on the part of the interested reader is provided in the bibliographical material contained in the articles.

An article entitled "General Zebulon M. Pike, Somerset Born," by William J. Backes, in the *Somerset County* [New Jersey] *Historical Quarterly* for October contains detailed information about the family of this leader of the first American exploring expedition in Minnesota and discusses at length the question of his birthplace. The author concludes that General Pike was born at Lamberton, now Lamington, in Somerset County, New Jersey, and not in the Lamberton which is now a part of the city of Trenton.

Two pages of the *Minneapolis Journal* for Sunday, September 21, are devoted to extracts from Mrs. Elizabeth F. L. Ellet's *Summer Rambles in the West* descriptive of the Twin City region

in 1852. The extracts are sufficiently interesting in themselves to have justified their reprinting without giving the impression that the work from which they are taken was practically unknown prior to the recent discovery of a copy in a distant state by a resident of Minneapolis. As a matter of fact there are numerous copies of the book in the public and private libraries of the Twin Cities and it is well known to bibliophiles and students of western history. The article is accompanied by illustrations which purport to be pictures of Minnehaha Creek in 1832, St. Anthony and the falls about 1852, a Red River ox cart, Colonel John H. Stevens, Joseph R. Brown, and the house in which the book was found. The ox cart shown in the picture resembles only remotely the genuine Red River cart in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society.

"When Treadmill Was a Marvel Minnesota Held First State Fair at Old Fort Snelling," is the title of an interesting article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 31. A privately planned and managed fair had been held in 1859 on an open field now within the city limits of Minneapolis, but Minnesotans first exhibited the fruits of their labors under the supervision of the state at Fort Snelling in 1860. Those visitors who resided east of the Mississippi reached the fair grounds by means of a ferry, a picture of which accompanies the article. Another illustration shows the exhibition grounds, the buildings, and the crowd in attendance.

An addition to the ever increasing list of tales of the Sioux massacre is "An Interesting Narrative on the Reign of Terror During 1862," by Hiram E. Hoard, which appears in the *Montevideo News* for August 28. The account of the way in which General Sibley secured the voluntary surrender of the hostile Indians at Camp Release, thereby saving the lives of many of his men and of the captives held by the Indians, is based on statements made by Sibley to the writer. Mr. Hoard also tells how a group of Montevideo citizens, of which he was a member, obtained from the state legislature the funds necessary for the purchase of Sibley's old camp ground at Camp Release and the erection of a monument thereon.

A reminiscent narrative of unusual interest is that of Ingeborg Monsen published in the October issue of *Lindberg's National Farmer*. It portrays the conditions in Norway in the middle of the nineteenth century which furnished the background for much of the immigration from that country to the United States, and relates the author's experiences as the wife of a homesteader in Grant County, Minnesota. These experiences throw light on economic and political conditions on the frontier during the Granger and Populist periods.

"A Reporter's Reminiscences of Roosevelt" is the title of an interesting article by George E. Akerson in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for October 26. It recounts the great American's visits to Minnesota from the fall of 1910, when he spoke before the conservation congress then in session in the St. Paul auditorium, to his last address in Minneapolis in October, 1918, only three months before his death.

A group of articles in the *Minneapolis Journal* for October 12, call attention to the remarkable manner in which the cities of northern Minnesota were rebuilt during the year following the terrible forest fire which devastated the entire region.

The Fort Snelling centenary is commemorated in an article by Warren Upham of the Minnesota Historical Society staff in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 10. It consists of an account of the founding of the first military post in Minnesota by Colonel Henry Leavenworth and his troops, based upon the journal of Major Thomas Forsyth the Indian agent who accompanied the expedition, and of a resumé of the work of Colonel Josiah Snelling for whom the fort was named. An excellent group of pictures representing early structures at the fort and portraits of the individuals who figured in the first years of its history illustrate the article.

Another article by Mr. Upham, in the *Pioneer Press* for August 17, has for its subject Kaposia, the village of Little Crow, which for a number of years after 1820 "stood on the site of St. Paul's depot." Quotations from the writings of Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, Major Thomas Forsyth, Henry R. Schoolcraft,

William H. Keating, and Charles J. Latrobe, all of whom noted the village in accounts of expeditions to the upper Mississippi, are cited. Although the situation of Kaposia was changed several times and its last location was on the west bank of the river near the present site of South St. Paul, Mr. Upham takes the position that "it may be regarded as the precusor of the city of St. Paul, having been placed temporarily near the center of this city's area at the time of the 1820 and 1823 expeditions."

The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of October 19 contains a sketch of the movement for the consolidation of the various organizations representing civic and business interests in St. Paul which began in 1910 and culminated in 1916 in the establishment of the St. Paul Association of Public and Business Affairs.

"Benjamin Backnumber," whose articles on "St. Paul Before This" were published in the *St. Paul Daily News* for about two years beginning with February 26, 1911, has reappeared with a second series in the Sunday issues of the same paper beginning September 14. Some of these reminiscences of early life in St. Paul are of value to the student of local history. To this category belongs the paper on "'Pig's Eye' and Phalen Creek" in the issue for September 21, which explains the origins of the names of these localities. The work of Harriet E. Bishop, who established the first St. Paul school, is the subject of the article for September 28. A discussion of "The Palmy Days of Steamboating," in which the development of river transportation and its effect on the city's growth is treated, appears on October 5, and an enumeration of "The First Storekeepers," on October 26.

A pageant, "The Spirit of Democracy," was presented by the St. Paul clubs of the War Camp Community Service at Phalen Park on August 28. The main episodes in American history were depicted on the bank of one of the canals which connect the chain of lakes. The scene which typified the life of the period of the Revolution was staged by local members of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

An article reminiscent of the early days of Minneapolis appeared in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for September 21, in com-

memoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Dr. William W. Folwell's arrival in Minnesota to become the first president of the university. Dr. Folwell celebrated the occasion by locating on the present university campus the site of the Cheever tower, from which many a visitor to old St. Anthony obtained his first view of the falls. A picture of the old tower accompanies the article.

The history of the Central Baptist Church of Minneapolis, 1870 to 1918, is briefly recorded in a booklet which appeared "in connection with the recent merging of Central church with Calvary church" (Minneapolis, 1918. 30 p.). The booklet is illustrated with pictures of the buildings of the church and with portraits of its pastors and leaders.

The *Albert Lea Community Magazine,* a monthly, the first number of which appeared in June, is an interesting experiment in the periodical field. That the cultivation of interest in and knowledge of local history is an effective means of promoting communtiy spirit, which is one of the objects of the magazine, has been recognized, to some extent, by the editors. The August number contains an article by Warren Upham, entitled "Freeborn County 84 Years Ago," which tells the story of the exploring expedition of 1835, of which Lieutenant Colonel Stephen W. Kearney was the commander and Lieutenant Albert M. Lea the chronicler, and also gives information about the origin of place names in the county. Two other articles which should be noted are "Some Truths about the 'Y' in France," by the Reverend Mark G. Paulsen of Albert Lea, in the July number, and "Red Cross Home Service," by H. S. Spencer, the secretary of the Freeborn County chapter, in the September number. It is to be hoped that space will be found in future issues for the publication of old letters, diaries, reminiscences, and other historical material of local interest.

The history of White Bear village is the subject of a sketch in the *St. Paul Daily News* for August 31.

A communication urging the necessity of the construction of a national archives building was sent by the acting secretary of

the treasury of the United States to the speaker of the House of Representatives on August 22. From this letter, which has been published (66 Congress, 1 session, *House Documents,* no. 200), it appears that "papers of inestimable value are now stored in numerous out-of-the-way and inaccessible places, some being in Government buildings not adequately protected from fire and others stored in rented quarters, where frequently there is far less security from fire or destruction in other ways than in the attics of Government buildings." A tentative location for the building has been selected and appropriations of $486,000 for the site and $1,500,000 for the building are recommended.

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September contains three papers which were read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in St. Louis in May: the presidential address, "Western Travel," by Harlow Lindley; "The United States Factory System for Trading with the Indians, 1798–1822," by Royal B. Way; and "A Frontier Officer's Military Order Book," by Louis Pelzer. The last, which is in the "Notes and Documents" section, relates to the military orders of Colonel Henry Dodge from 1832 to 1836 and presents interesting sidelights on conditions in the frontier army at this time. Other articles in this number of the *Review* are "The French Council of Commerce in Relation to American Trade," by Ella Lonn, and the annual sketch of "Historical Activities in Canada, 1918–1919," by Lawrence J. Burpee.

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association is the latest recruit to the ranks of state historical periodicals, the first number bearing the date, October, 1919. The editors have paid a high compliment to the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN by modeling their publication upon it to a considerable extent.

A controversy over the scope of the publications of the Wisconsin Historical Society and other matters relating to the conduct of that institution led to an investigation of its affairs by a special joint committee of the last legislature. The report of the committee presented in June contains a striking apprecia-

tion of the society, which concludes as follows: "The committee does not hesitate to say that every member thereof was not only profoundly impressed but actually amazed to find it such a big, comprehensive, serviceable, and helpful institution in which the state may take intense pride and the committee hopes that every citizen of the state may find opportunity to visit the library and see from a personal inspection what a wonderful institution Wisconsin possesses in its State Historical Society." It is interesting to note that at the conclusion of the investigation both of the senators on the committee took out memberships in the society.

The article of most interest to Minnesotans in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September is one entitled "The Competition of the Northwestern States for Emigrants," by Theodore C. Blegen. This deals with the official activities of Wisconsin and more briefly of the neighboring states including Minnesota in the period after 1850.

The centennial of the founding of Fort Atkinson, the first fort and white settlement in Nebraska, was celebrated at the village of Fort Calhoun near Omaha, on October 11. The exercises consisted of a number of addresses in the forenoon, a basket picnic dinner, and a pageant in the afternoon and were attended by about six thousand people.

War History Activities

The most significant recent development in the work of the Minnesota War Records Commission is the adoption of a new and more effective method of securing for the state collection records of the individual services of Minnesota soldiers, sailors, and marines. Under the original plan, such records were being compiled for the commission by its county committees. While some of the latter were making notable progress with this big task, in many counties the work either had not been started or did not give promise of reasonably early and complete returns. Furthermore, the marked predilection of nearly all the local committees for this part of their work bade fair to postpone indefi-

nitely the collection of other important classes of material. When, therefore, the soldiers' bonus law was enacted in September (*Laws,* Special Session, 1919, ch. 49), the commission welcomed what has proved to be an exceptional opportunity for compiling and collecting service records on a large scale, in a short time, and with a minimum of effort. An arrangement was made with the bonus board whereby the latter has included the commission's military service record form among the papers to be filled out by each applicant for the bonus. As a result the commission is beginning to receive through the board large numbers of completed service records accompanied in not a few cases by soldiers' photographs, letters, and other personal matter. At the same time the county committees have been encouraged to take advantage of the present wholesale filling out of questionnaires by service men to compile duplicate records for the county collections. There is every prospect that the new method will result in the recording, here and in the counties, of rather complete data on the careers of all but a very small percentage of Minnesota men in the service.

Interest in the compilation of service records in connection with the distribution of state bonuses to service men has made possible the organization of war records committees in Clay, Cook, Crow Wing, Lake, Martin, Murray, Norman, Red Lake, Sibley, and Wabasha counties, in all but one instance under the leadership of a local representative of the American Legion. These committees were organized primarily for the purpose of securing service records for preservation in the counties, but it is hoped that they will shortly develop into full-fledged county organizations engaged in the building up of county collections of records relating to civilian, as well as to military activities. Three of the committees have secured local appropriations: Clay County, a provisional appropriation of two hundred and fifty dollars from the county board; Lake County, two hundred dollars from the county board and fifty from the city of Two Harbors; Murray County, one thousand dollars from the county board.

A conference of county chairmen of the Minnesota War Records Commission was held September 3 in the Historical

Building, St. Paul. The Honorable William E. Culkin and Colonel Roe G. Chase, chairmen in St. Louis and Anoka counties respectively, told of the work done by their committees. Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook, secretary of the commission, brought out various features of the work of the county committees in general and discussed the work of the war records organization in its relation to that of private agencies engaged in the preparation and publication of county war histories as business ventures. The objects and achievements of the state body in acquiring records of general significance for the state war records collection were set forth by Mr. Cecil W. Shirk, field agent of the commission.

The Minnesota War Records Commission has taken an active part in a movement for the coöperation of all state agencies engaged in collecting and compiling the records of the participation of their respective states in the World War. On September 9 and 10 the secretary of the commission together with representatives of similar bodies in fifteen other states met in conference at Washington upon the call of Dr. James Sullivan, state historian of New York. The most important result of this conference was the establishment of a permanent organization known as the National Association of State War History Organizations. This body will maintain, at joint expense, a bureau in Washington for the purpose of supplying information about and making transcripts of documents in the governmental archives and other central depositories which bear upon the war activities of the several states. It is expected that the bureau will also serve as a clearing house for information pertaining to problems encountered, methods followed, and results achieved by the member agencies in their respective fields. The officers and executive committee of the association for the first year are as follows: president, James Sullivan, state historian of New York; vice-president, Arthur K. Davis, chairman of the Virginia War History Commission; secretary-treasurer, Albert E. McKinley, secretary of the Pennsylvania War History Commission; additional members of the executive committee, Franklin F. Holbrook, secretary of the Minnesota War Records Commission, and Benjamin

F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

An account of the work of the Minnesota War Records Commission appeared in the *St. Paul Daily News* for August 31 under the title, "Records of Minnesota's Part in the World War to be Preserved." The article served to bring this work to the attention of many former service men who were assembling in St. Paul at that time for the first annual convention of the Minnesota branch of the American Legion.

The *Proceedings* of the first annual convention of the Minnesota branch of the American Legion (vii, 159 p.) contains a stenographic report of the sessions, which were held in St. Paul, September 2, 3, and 4, and a list of the delegates in attendance from all parts of the state. One of the purposes of the organization, as stated in its constitution, is "to preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the Great War"; hence a historian, Samuel G. Iverson of St. Paul, is among the officers elected during the meeting. The constitution of the Minnesota branch and the resolutions adopted during the convention are published in a separate pamphlet (23 p.).

The first number of the *Northwest Warriors Magazine,* an illustrated periodical edited and printed by "men who fought for democracy" and published in Minneapolis, appeared in August. The editors announce that the magazine "will give the history of the Northwest's fighting men in the great war and will seek to perpetuate the memory of the deeds of valor and heroism of her sons." In the three issues which have appeared thus far, this promise is being fulfilled. Each contains an installment of a history of the 151st United States Field Artillery (the Gopher Gunners), and sections of "A Tribute to the Red Triangle" by Edgar J. Couper, president of the Minneapolis Y. M. C. A., appear in the August and October numbers. A history of the 88th Division and the story of "Base Hospital No. 26," by Lieutenant Colonel Arthur A. Law, which also appears in the June number of *Minnesota Medicine,* begin in the September issue and are continued in that for October, while the latter also contains the first part of an account of the 337th United States Field

Artillery by Lieutenant Maugridge S. Robb. The value of these narratives is enhanced by the fact that, in most cases, the authors are men who actually participated in the events which they recount. An article by Cecil W. Shirk, field agent of the Minnesota War Records Commission, explaining the origin and aims of the commission appears in the August number of the magazine.

The September issue of *The Liberty Bell,* the publication of the War Loan Organization of the Ninth Federal Reserve District (52 p.), is a "valedictory" number, since the work which the magazine "was created to aid is done." The war is over; the problem of financing it by means of Liberty Loans is solved. The methods used in obtaining this result in the six states of the Ninth Federal Reserve District, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and Montana, are described by the leaders of the various phases of the work. From the general discussion of "The Ninth Federal Reserve District's Accomplishment" by Arthur R. Rogers, chairman of the War Loan Organization, to the tale of the fighting tanks and the flying circus as factors in the Victory Loan campaign, the story is one of unique advertising and unprecedented response. Three fourths of the issue is devoted to a statistical table in which is presented the record of each of the three hundred and three counties of the district for each loan, together with the names of the state and county chairmen in charge of the campaigns.

A recent issue of the *Quarterly* published by the Minnesota State Board of Control (vol. 19, no. 3) is devoted to a "Summary of Activities During the War Period" of the educational, philanthropic, correctional, and penal institutions under its supervision. The data contained therein indicates the scope and value of the war work accomplished by the employes and inmates of these institutions and shows that even some of the most unfortunate of the latter were of material assistance in the prosecution of the war.

The *Report* of the supreme board of directors of the Knights of Columbus, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, on "War Work Activities" (New Haven, 1919. 55 p.), contains a series

of charts and statistics from which some idea of the work of this organization in Minnesota and of the number of Minnesotans in its overseas service may be gleaned.

"The Roll of Honor" in the history of *Phillips Academy, Andover, in the Great War,* edited by Claude M. Fuess (New Haven, 1919. 398 p.) contains biographical sketches of three Minnesota men who gave their lives for the cause of democracy, Irving T. Moore of Duluth, Perry Dean Gribben of St. Paul, and Kenneth Rand of Minneapolis. The "War Record" of the Andover alumni and students, which occupies nearly half of the volume, includes the military experiences of a number of Minnesotans.

One chapter of Emerson Hough's *The Web* (Chicago, 1919. 511 p.), the authorized history of the American Protective League, is devoted to the work of the Minneapolis division of that organization. The story of the experiences, exciting and commonplace, humorous and pathetic, of the operations of the league in what Mr. Hough erroneously calls "one of the North-West's Capitals" makes very interesting reading. The chapter is obviously a condensation of the *Summary and Report of War Service* which was previously issued by the Minneapolis division (see *ante,* 3:108).

In his *Brief Story of the Rainbow Division* (New York, 1919. 61 p.), Walter B. Wolf informs his readers that this "account of the 42nd Division was written . . . in order that it might be available to each member of the Division upon his return to the United States." The pamphlet, however, is of interest to all Minnesotans who take pride in their state's contribution to the Rainbow Division, the 151st United States Field Artillery. The experiences of the Minnesota unit are necessarily but lightly touched upon in a work of this scope. The account includes the story, concisely told, of the organization and composition of the division, of its long and brilliant period of service in France, and of the tedious months of waiting for home during the winter of 1918–19 while it formed a part of the Army of Occupation. One convenient appendix is composed of the names of the units

of the division with their original designations and commanding officers; another consists of a list of the sectors occupied by the Rainbow Division during the various periods of the war. A map on which the western front in June, 1918, is indicated and the fronts and sectors occupied by the 42nd Division are located, is a valuable addition to the pamphlet. The author assures the public that "a detailed and more extended record of the Rainbow is being prepared for early publication . . . in which the personalties of the soldiers and leaders . . . will be dealt with at length."

The Rainbow Highway Association has been formed in Iowa for the purpose of establishing a memorial to the men of the Rainbow Division in the form of a highway to extend from St. Louis on the south to St. Paul and Minneapolis on the north.

The memory of the Minneapolis men who gave their lives in the World War is to be perpetuated in an unusual manner. Sixteen hundred elms, one for each man who died in the service, are to be planted in six rows along a memorial drive which is now being graded and prepared between Glenwood Park and Camden Park. The income from a fund of fifty thousand dollars, presented to the city by Charles M. Loring, will be used in caring for the trees.

The McLeod County men who were in the military service during the World War were welcomed home in a great celebration at Hutchinson on August 19. It is estimated that thirty thousand people thronged the streets of the town to watch the parade composed of veterans of the Civil, Indian, Spanish-American, and World wars. After the parade eight hundred of the eight hundred and fifty former service men of the county received bronze medals. In the evening a historical pageant was presented on the main street of the town.

The national and regimental colors of four units of the 88th Division which were made up largely of Minnesota men have been turned over to the state by the war department. The colors are those of the 351st and 352nd regiments United States Infantry, 313th United States Engineers, and 337th United States

Field Artillery. They have been added to the display of Minnesota Military colors in the rotunda of the Capitol. The colors of two units outside of the 88th Division, the 125th United States Field Artillery and the 55th United States Engineers, have also been received and included in the collection.

A summary account of what the various states are doing in the collection of material for the history of state and local participation in the World War appears in the October number of the *American Historical Review* in an article entitled "The Collection of State War Service Records," by Franklin F. Holbrook, secretary of the Minnesota War Records Commission. Admittedly but a preliminary survey of developments in a new and broad field, the article reveals the fact that "central governments or governmental agencies in at least thirty-five states have made special and more or less adequate provision for the conduct . . . of systematic and state-wide campaigns for the acquisition of all available records of the war services performed by their several commonwealths." Minnesota is shown to compare favorably with other states except that, in a number of cases, state war records agencies elsewhere receive much more liberal financial support.

Wisconsin in the World War, by R. B. Pixley (Milwaukee, 1919. 400 p.) is a compilation consisting mainly of names and statistics. It seems to be a cross between the state blue book and the commercial county history types of literary endeavor.

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AMERICAN DEMOCRACY [1]

Like the "blessed word Mesopotamia" which gave so much comfort to the old lady, in spite, perhaps because, of her vagueness as to its meaning, democracy of late made us all brothers. While the heat of the struggle persisted, it was enough that democracy was arrayed against autocracy, but with the victory of our cause, there was a moment of unquiet at the obvious incongruities in the family we had adopted. Scarcely had the world been made safe for democracy when the issue arose of making democracy safe for the world. There seemed to be a call for definition or at least a classification of cousinry, when the situation was in part cleared, and the analysis of democracy for the moment stayed, by the discovery of bolshevism. The world was apparently divided not into sheep and goats merely, but a third element existed—perhaps wolves. Enormously convenient and soothing to the personal consciousness by giving us the means of denying relationship with disagreeable persons who were obviously not Germans, this discovery nevertheless caused a suspicion that things were not so simple as they seemed. If one were beset upon the one hand and upon the other, it followed that one was following the middle path which the Greeks advocated but to tread which requires constant care and effort. Democracy as a middle way is very different from those Elysian fields which many supposed to be before them when the dragon of autocracy should be overcome. Some gain there is in realizing the gulf that exists on one side, the desert on the other, but the way is often misty and it is necessary to have compass as well as landmarks, some knowledge of the essence of the thing we seek, some test to distinguish it from the *ignis fatuus* playing through the air.

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It is not the purpose of this paper to attempt the definition of democracy in the abstract, nor to join in the discussion of the working of democracy; but merely to describe what the speaker believes to be the conception of democracy held in the United States. This is certainly not a question to which the hundred million voices that make up our nation would return one answer. In fact, when quite recently the question was asked of a group of a dozen returned heroes, carefully selected for their general intelligence and scholastic training, it evoked but a confused dribble of answers, offered with little conviction. Some thought of democracy as an ideal that could be attained; some, as an ideal that could not be attained; some, as an extreme to be avoided; practically none thought of democracy as a practical working system; few thought the United States government democratic. It is indeed obvious in ordinary conversation that the United States is not democratic in the sense that a lump of coal is coal, but rather in the sense that a lump of coal is carboniferous. On the fundamental question as to whether one has confidence in the mass of the people, or in the few like Saul higher than any of the people, the world is, of course, divided eternally and everywhere, and in the United States as elsewhere. This difference of opinion is somewhat veiled amongst us by the vogue of the word democracy itself, and ardent believers in the government by the few parade as democrats, reserving to themselves the definition of what democracy is.

Out of this chaos, the speaker claims to be able to discern a few simplifying facts. First, that, leaving aside the question of ideals, we have a working system of government which, as contrasted with some other governments, may be called democratic. Second, that, as contrasted with other peoples, those of the United States have certain almost subconcious instincts as to the fundamental principles of that government, which were much more conscious to their ancestors during the period of struggle when it was being established, and which constitute the American conception of democracy. The United States,

however, is a country large for its age, and its ideas of democracy, as of other things, do not analyze alike from Maine to Florida, from Virginia to Oregon. On democracy there have been three differing conceptions, drawn from different sources, long nourished by different circumstances, and not even now completely blended. The political Puritanism of Sandys and Hampden expanded in the vast area of Virginia into an individualism based on ample elbow room and disdaining the parental care of a close-knit state. Religious Puritanism, held together by the contracting geography of the New England valleys and closing its ranks to fight the world, the flesh, and the devil, found in union, strength. The Frontier, free as air, where all stood equal, confident, was restive of the bridle, but saw no limits to the beneficent power of a state which it could itself control. From these three elements, with their subdivisions, cross currents, and reactions has developed that ideal of political relationships which the word democracy brings to the mind of most Americans.

Probably the first idea which one associates with democracy is liberty. From the beginning the founders of America emphasized this aspect, it has been the inspiration of our poets, it has been the incentive of our immigrants. The mere migration to America, as to any new land, freed the migrant from many things, from the shackles of family and tradition and status—the dead hand of the past. Necessity freed initiative from the inhibitions of custom and of ridicule. Liberty, however, is nowhere absolute, it is always a matter of degree and shades, it differs from place to place, not only in amount but in character.

The simplest American conception of liberty was that which developed in Virginia and found expression in the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson. To him the only object of government was to protect liberty. Government was not to lead or cultivate, but merely to preserve each man in the peaceful enjoyment of his full freedom, and to mark the boundaries where the exercise of freedom by one would encroach on that of another;

the functions of government were purely judicial and police. This simple conception left out of view many of the complexities that subtler philosophies entail, and it was not inconsistent with a social situation which actually gave the control to a rather narrow aristocracy. It was indeed inconsistent with slavery, but this its leading advocates acknowledged, merely leaving the eradication of that evil to their sons. It would not prevent the retention of the freed slaves as an ignorant and helpless peasantry. Yet in one respect besides their belief in liberty were the Virginia leaders democrats. Recognizing differences, acquiesing in both the profits and the responsibilities created by these differences, they nevertheless had confidence in men generally. In framing their governments they did not so much show a fear of anarchy as of governmental oppression. Their most cherished political instrument was the "Bill of Rights," which enumerates those rights of the individual which the government must never invade. This device, whereby every man was given a certain range of action in which he alone was sovereign, was not only foreshadowed in the Declaration of Independence, and incorporated into the constitutions of the various states of the plantation section, but became a part of all other state constitutions, and, though not logically called for, was inserted into the constitution of the United States by early amendment.

The fighting Frontier, as it swept westward, was not philosophic, and its conceptions were expressed in action rather than in words. It gave some lip service to the Virginians, but it was more virile, having no fears and confident that men once possessing freedom would maintain it. It, therefore, reduced both the limitations upon government and the governmental restrictions upon the individual. The striking difference, however, was that the Frontier democracy really included everyone, and with this went a spiritual change. Few felt the responsibility of the Virginia gentleman for those who were actually inferior, for inferiority was considered a matter of fault. Instead of being tinctured by a gentle sense of *noblesse oblige,*

society rather tended toward the Calvinistic ideal, that a free man is responsible for his own welfare.

The New England conception was much less simple. Man is free, said Winthrop, to do that which is good. This applied, of course, to moral freedom, but in the early New England days of marriage of church and state, it was the obvious duty of the latter to restrain the liberty of the individual not only with respect to the rights of other individuals but also for the purpose of keeping him within the path of right conduct. What was right conduct, however, was on the whole determined by the majority; which meant that the majority were really free. Restraint from evil, moreover, must be distinguished from the guidance to the absolute right, to which the state did not aspire.

The application of this restrictive ideal of liberty was always and increasingly modified by the wide variations of the New England type and by sturdy individualism. Even so ardent a predestinarian as Jonathan Edwards found it necessary to temper his doctrine by magnifying the importance of the act of will by which the individual accepts his fate. Quakerism, with its individual inspiration; the Baptists and Methodists, who modified logic by emotionalism; the growth of Unitarianism, in its first negative phase, and of sheer atheism, gradually loosened the hold of Calvinistic doctrine, first on the institutions of the state, and then on the minds of the community. The limits of freedom in New England, therefore, grew, not by revolution but by evolution, and by the early part of the nineteenth century the area of freedom for the individual was relatively wide.

The early New England conception of liberty, however, lacked the element of appeal to the American spirit, for it rested upon the belief that man was born in sin, the natural man a thing of evil, and hence to be restrained for his own good. The influence of Americanism was revealed by the philosophy of Emerson, who dwelt upon the divine spark in every individual and the possibility that any individual might

expel the base element and render himself all divine, not in the Buddhist sense of merger with the godhead, but still retaining his individual consciousness. While the theology of Emerson had small acceptance, his philosophy, embodying as it did the optimism and self-reliance of the people, affected broadly the American attitude towards life.

This exaltation of the individual naturally resulted in increased emphasis on liberty and received added force from the economic liberalism of John Stuart Mill. In spite of the discredit cast upon the Virginia school of thought by the Civil War, the period that followed marked the apex of individualism. The chief activity of government was the breaking of shackles, not those imposed by slavery alone but by all institutions which limited the freedom of the free, and by ignorance which veiled the light. With an irrefragable belief in the goodness and the possibilities of man, freedom seemed enough to guarantee the millenium, or freedom made dynamic by the preaching of the purged.

Although the need for state activity was temporarily lost sight of, the dominant conception of liberty in New England remained restrictive. When, therefore, the millenium failed to arrive and new call for state activity arose, it encountered no philosophic opposition but only that of those affected by the proposed measures, and, the old order having been swept away by the generation of the Civil War, the last thirty years have seen decided progress in hedging in the antisocial impulses of the individual by new codes.

One must, therefore, repeat that while liberty is an essential element in the American conception of democracy, it is not unrestricted liberty, but one modified and complex. On the whole the lines of differences between the sections are less marked than they were in 1800. The South has recognized an increased field for government, New England has turned its thoughts somewhat from restrictions upon the natural evil tendencies of man to assistance in his struggle to rise, and generally over America the basis of liberty has come to be the

Frontier confidence in the strength and the good will of the individual.

Although one's first thought in connection with democracy is freedom, it was obviously not what was in the minds of those who made the word. Not the liberty of the individual, but the power of the people was what they emphasized, and this aspect has always been prominent in the minds of American thinkers, and instinct in those who have not troubled to think. The extent of the power of the people is measured in part by the restrictions on the liberty of the individual, but the dividing line acquires character by viewing it from the opposite side, and the uplifting power of the state does not entirely depend on restriction.

Jefferson himself when his reëlection as president seemed to him to confirm the wisdom and stability of the people, began to toy with the ideas which his fertile brain offered him as to the benefits which a beneficent state might confer. Individual liberty was not to be restrained, but rather broadened by the exercise of new functions. By smoothing the paths of travel and commerce, freedom of movement would be increased, by multiplying the means of education, the area of mental activity would be extended. Jefferson failed to carry his own generation in the South; but the exigencies of a community with large credit but little cash led to large state grants for transportation in the forties and fifties, the influence of the other sections led to generous provision for education, and in the first part of the twentieth century the ever present fear of the negro led the most individualistic section of the country to adopt, more generally than any other, that striking encroachment upon the individual's freedom, that emphatic assertion of the power of the people, the prohibition of alcoholic beverages.

Much less hesitating and limited was the New England view of the functions which the power of the people should exert through the state. Historians still dispute as to whether the original New England communities were more political or

business institutions. Certainly they conducted business; they were the organs for common ownership of lands, and cattle, and even ships. While communism was tried and failed, the joint-stock method of managing many public concerns was well fixed and even today one finds many towns engaged in some business enterprise which is not the product of the modern movement for public ownership but a lingering survival of old days of common dependence. Even the Civil War generation, while convinced of the wisdom of restricting state activity in many lines, still clung to and in fact extended the economic theory of a protective tariff, which linked the whole economic life with the policy of the state. New England, therefore, has always regarded the state as an instrument to be used, as the power of the people dictated, for the people.

To the practical mind of the Frontier the activity of the state was a matter not of philosophy but of convenience. Restive of self-restraint, the frontiersman, nevertheless, saw no danger in calling in the aid of the state when he desired assistance. Moreover, as he had the unlimited confidence in himself bred of visible accomplishment, so he saw no limits to what the state, uniting his power with that of his fellows, could do. Thus one sees rough individualistic farmers brushing aside laws hoary with centuries of acceptance, but at the same time uniting in visions of the printing press as an unfailing fountain of money and in plans of uplift which tame city dwellers abhor as dreams of the wildest socialism. Every season of poor crops produces fresh avalanches of plans, and not by argument, but by experiment, the possible are gradually sifted from the fantastic. It is perhaps inexact to say that the Frontier, or its grandchild, the Middle West, has a theory of it all, but its practice has combined the wide range of freedom advocated by the South with the belief in an active state contributed by New England, but whose activities are directed rather to clearing the road of progress than to keeping step among those advancing upon it.

The idea of the power of the people, however, raises two important and difficult questions. In the first place, who are the people? The usual answer in America is "We are the people"; but as no great or representative body is usually gathered together when the statement is made, it does not bring us very far towards our conclusion. In fact, the chase after the people is something like that after God, and even the believing mind, which feels the existence all about, finds difficulty in producing the desired materialization. Nor is there complete unity in the form of materialization desired.

To the original Puritans "the people" were distinctly the "elect"; and they had their methods of revealing upon this earth those whose names were written in that angelic book. This simplicity was, however, marred by a theory vaguely held that the elect would of necessity think alike, and that the only true basis of action was unanimity. It was marred also by the worldly importance of some who did not have evidence of election, and who gradually forced their way in, differentiating the elect from the electors. Altogether without were the non-electors. To the average Virginian, unfortified by such clear cut division, "the people" generally signified the people who counted, the people whom, if one had not encountered at dinner, one might meet at that somewhat select board. Everybody who was anybody, was somebody, in Virginia. Even on the Frontier one thought of the people as of those like-minded with oneself. In fact, how could the simple, honest wielder of the axe, with his confidence in human nature, fail to believe that his fellows, if honest, would believe as he did, and hesitate to apply that sacred name to the obdurate and obviously dishonest capitalists of Wall Street? Of late there has been some tendency to give this doubt expression, and many of those powerful wielders of public opinion, the cartoonists, make the hero of politics not "the people," but "the common people." Thus the essential element of bolshevism, the belief in the divine right of some class to control, is old in America, and the worthies of Beacon Street, the planters of the South, the

barons of banking and industry, the farmers of the West, and the laborers of the great cities, have all, from time to time, sought the seat which Lenine and Trotsky so precariously occupy.

In America, however, none of them have ever quite succeeded in occupying it, and even while one cynically dissects the people, one becomes convinced that something exists, and as one studies the manifestations of its presence there seems to have been a gradual change in its character, not variable, as would result from the seizing of the reins first by one self-conscious class and then another, but constant. Still analysis reveals not one simple conception of the people, but three, each of which comes unconsciously to the mind as the subject under discussion changes.

When the people who shall enjoy liberty or be guided or restrained in their actions are concerned, there has been a growing tendency to identify them with the inhabitants. When the people who have power is in question, there has been an undoubted tendency to regard them as those who can operate the political machinery as it exists from time to time. Often this has been a very queerly selected lot; a citizen of one state, or town, or county, weighing many times as heavy as one of another. Even today a citizen of Delaware or Nevada is about one hundred times as powerful in choosing a United States senator as one from New York. Nevertheless the incongruities of this legal people do not excite the public mind as they would among a population devoted to logic, and its will has been, and is, accepted. Yet there has been a growing feeling that for purposes of action the real people is the majority of citizens. Bitterly disappointed that fellow citizens even of so glorious a country could not be brought to think alike, the statesmen who framed the earlier constitutions attempted compromise after compromise, by fixing special majorities, as of two-thirds or three-quarters, which should be requisite for specified action. While some of these still exist and operate, they grow fewer, and experience intensifies the

identification of the power of the people with the power of the majority, and there is a progressive attempt to make the legal people and the majority identical.

The second difficulty arises out of the distinction between the whole people who are to enjoy liberty, and the majority, who are to possess power, and accounts in large measure for the tolerance of the incongruous middle group who actually operate the political machinery. America has recognized that the tyranny of the majority may be as painful in quality, though not in quantity, as the tyranny of a single person or a class. Confidence in mankind as a body of equals has not extended to the few or many exalted above the crowd. Our democratic philosophers have been keenly aware of the difficulty of reconciling freedom for the individual with freedom of the body politic to move. Obviously matter for compromise, the fluidity of American life has resented any form of static compromise. The solution was early sought and continues to be found in institutions that automatically operate to allow the necessities of the time, and the desires of the majority, to find expression, while protecting the minority in its, or rather in certain rights, and the individual in the enjoyment of an area of liberty.

The American method of meeting this difficulty has been by written constitutions, the essential element of which has not been their mandates and prohibitions, but the principle of division of power or, more broadly, of checks and balances. The fantastic lengths to which analyzers like John Adams drew out these balancing features must not be allowed to carry away in a general ridicule the fact that balance is the basic element of American institutions; a balance not dead, but kept erect by motion. Thus length of term in the senates balances the quick response to popular desires in the houses of representation; thus the independent power of the executives balances the independent power of the legislatures, yet the veto gives the executives some check upon the legislatures, the necessity of senatorial confirmation checks the license of the executives

in the making of appointments and, in the case of the United States, of treaties. Again the acts of both legislatures and executives are not checked by the supreme courts, but squared with the written constitutions, and, if found inconsistent therewith, are held of no legal validity. It is not my purpose to discuss the wisdom of the division of power, which is at present rather unpopular among political scientists. I merely point out that it is the system by which American democracy has sought to preserve equipoise between the liberty of the individual and the power of the majority, both of which it considers essential elements of democracy. Nor is it merely the theory upon which the constitutions were framed, but it has actually survived operation. At any time in the United States one will find a strong opinion that it has failed, but if one follows American opinion for any length of time one will find a constantly varying opinion as to which of the elements is in the ascendancy.

It is upon this question of checks and balances, which is now referred to almost solely as one of checks, that the chief disputes as to the differences and relative democracy of the American and British systems are based. Many maintain that the English system, which now gives practically complete authority to the House of Commons, is, therefore, the more democratic, because it gives the majority more immediate control. Setting aside all questions as to superior merit as a governmental system, it can be positively stated that did the majority in England have complete and immediate control, neither our ancestors, nor the average American of today would regard it as more democratic, for in that case the minority and the individual would be absolutely at the mercy of the majority, and the fact that the majority respected in some measure their wishes would not make it a democracy, for not respect for the desires of others limited only by one's own will, nor the mercy of the majority, constitute to the American mind democracy, but only the observance of

acknowledged rights. American democracy consists not of liberty alone, nor of power alone, but fundamentally of system.

As a matter of fact, the House of Commons is very far from having absolute power, and British government is actually replete in checks, which are supplied by an inherent respect for law and established institutions, and render the path of the promoter of new ideas quite as thorny and at times as seemingly hopeless as with us. In fact, the ordinary Englishman regards the defect in American democracy as consisting not in the absence of power on the part of the majority, but in the restrictions placed upon the individual, and considers national prohibition the final word in the definition of the anti-democratic.

Here again, however, the difference is not that which is commented upon. Englishmen are also restricted by the laws, but the limits of personal freedom differ in each country according to the character of the population. In America restrictions are along the line of moral conduct, owing to the strength of what in Great Britain is called "non-conformist" thought; in Great Britain, they are along the line of economic activity, owing to the greater pressure of congested social conditions.

To approach our definition by comparison, therefore, we may say that democracy in America is more a matter of system, in Great Britain, of instinct, that America has gone farther in restricting moral evils, Great Britain, in directing economic conditions; but that both countries recognize that both power by the majority and liberty of the individual are essential elements of democracy, and that a government to be democratic must reconcile the two, must be complex.

In addition to personal liberty and majority power, kept in equipoise by a system of checks and balances, there is one further essential element in the American conception of democracy—equality. The first phrase of the first declaration of the American nation, states that all men are created equal. It is easy to point out that when that statement was made Americans were not equal, that it is extremely difficult to discover

any single respect in which they were equal. Nor did the Declaration itself create an equality. It is, however, unfair to Jefferson who wrote the phrase and to the men wise and unwise who adopted it, to charge them with ignorance or hyperbole. For some of them it was a basis of philosophic theory, for some an ideal, for some a declaration of purpose. Very pathetic and inspiring were the attempts of some of them to subdue their prejudices to their purpose, and very lively has been the influence of that phrase in American history.

Equality is an ideal, and its strength may be calculated by the tendency toward its realization. It must be kept in mind, moreover, that an ideal need not be absolute and it is, therefore, important to test it for limitations, not to throw it out of court because exceptions can be discovered. The claims of refined ladies who amuse themselves with genealogy, and limit their circle to descendants of colonial governors or of the scalpees of King Philip's War, must be checked against the effect those claims make upon the people who are excluded from the sacred circle; and it is profitable to point out that American ancestry has no weight in the matrimonial market, and a substantial English title of the day before yesterday, can outbid the inheritor of a much longer and more distinguished inheritance of American culture. The exclusiveness that fails to excite jealousy may well be classified as an aberration of personal freedom. I am not sure, however, that there is not in a democracy an element of greater exclusiveness than in an aristocracy. Regardless of equality, it remains true that one does not want to marry or to dine with anyone; that equality is not sameness. The less artificial ties bring the uncongenial together, the more the congenial tend to flock together. I believe that a foreigner once launched into a social set in America, is apt to find, as he goes from city to city, a greater uniformity of thought and manner than would an American in Europe. He must be on his guard, as must the members of the set, against supposing that the dinner talk represents American thought, and he must remember that his associates, no

matter how highly placed, represent not a society toward which all the successful are struggling but merely a congenial group among many other congenial groups. Equality has taken the form, not of association regardless of opinion and status, but rather of association of equals in opinion and status. The forms of social intercourse have a profound influence on the life of a nation, and undoubtedly one of the serious problems we have to confront is the fact that most people who meet at dinner in America agree, and that those who do not agree choose not to meet.

Sets would seem to be an inevitable concomitant of democracy; whether or not classes are equally so is a question; certainly they have continued to exist. The cultured, the educated, the straight-laced, the irresponsible, farmers, merchants, employers, and the employed, have always existed; and at the present time, when the arrival of different nationalities at different periods have left the later waves in layers, each successive one enabling the one before it to climb out of the least desirable occupation, the element of difference of origin has to some degree strengthened the lines of demarcation. Classes struggle for their interests and tend to become important factors in politics. It is worth noting, however, that up to the present classes have not become the basis of politics. No attempt to form a party of labor has as yet succeeded in the United States; representatives represent their districts, not their class, although their action may, of course, be influenced by class consciousness. This distinction between class divisions and party divisions is illustrated by the tendency of classes to shift their political views with the situation. In the first days of the republic, the supporters of personal freedom as against the power of the state were the classes who had the least to defend and feared the Biblical aphorism "from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." The late Mr. Harriman, a man of exceptional insight, realized that the balance of power had changed hands, and was leader in bringing the great capitalists of the country to school to Jefferson

and Andrew Jackson, to seek safety, not in power, but behind the restrictions of the Constitution. Classes have, therefore, existed independent of political theory.

Turning from the negative to the positive method of seeking the American conception of equality, it is in New England that we find, amid the most complex social structure America has developed, the germ of that innate sense of equality which has become American. At first it was not the exhilarating conviction it subsequently became, but a sense of the triviality of all worldly differences between men, in view of the fact that all would stand equal in the great and awful day of the Lord. Scorched into their consciousness by an almost universal belief, intensified by at least five hours of preaching a week, with many an exhortation besides, and dwelling continually with them in the most secret chambers of their home and soul, it revealed a picture of mankind standing naked, as in Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment," subject to a universal law and a single judge.

It was in this burning heat that the fripperies of earthly rank gradually withered away. First went hereditary titles. There can be no doubt that an American considers the inheritance of an inescapable title as quite a different thing from the inheritance of millions of dollars which may fly away. Still more grating to their sense of equality, because they cannot divorce it from the idea of cruelty, is the institution of primogeniture. In early Massachusetts the eldest son received the Biblical double share, and in Virginia, the full English portion; but both his advantage and the responsibility and family leadership on which the practice rested went against the grain and vanished completely after the Revolution by the separate action of every state. The final accomplishment of the New England sense of equality was the harmonizing, at the close of the Civil War, of conditions human and divine by bringing all sorts and conditions of men, native and foreign, under one law and one system of courts. This is undoubtedly one of the basic conceptions, not indeed distinguishing, but

characterizing American democracy, applied often with relentless logic, where distinction of treatment would be more merciful, if less just. For a time equality before the same law seemed sufficient. At the time of the Revolution "No taxation without representation" had a very definite significance, but it was quite obviously not that one should not be taxed unless allowed a vote. So long as the power to vote was determined by a law that applied equally to all, and the taxes were based on a general law, the views of the political theorists were satisfied.

Equality on the Frontier, however, was something very different. Probably no so large a population had ever before so closely approached actual equality of condition and experience. It was not a theory but a condition. Assumption of superiority was laughed down with good nature, it meant so little; and artificial inequalities were blown away by the clean, fresh air of an agreeable actuality. Equal law was no longer enough, the demand that all men share in the making of the law swept all counter arguments before it. Today no view is more widely and confidently held in the United States than that a vote is as inherently attached to a man as his nose, while the idea that no man can possess more than one vote is as strong as that he should not be allowed two wives. The strongest argument for woman suffrage is that of right and not of expediency. You may find Americans who doubt the desirability of universal male suffrage; I have known at least one who believed that a large hole ran connecting the North Pole with the South.

The frontier itself did not consider that political rights ended with the vote. If all men were equal, why be content with electing officers, why not hold office? Andrew Jackson said that the duties of all public offices were or admitted of being made so simple that any citizen could hold them. Other leaders advocated rotation in all offices, administrative as well as elective, in order that they might be shared round the more rapidly. Wicked New York made service to the party the basis for appointment, and the Spoils System was set going, of which

you probably know, without my saying, a great deal more evil than was true. For it was not without compensations, one of which was that it created a sense among the people that the government was theirs and not a thing apart.

In addition to equality before the law and equality in making the law, there is a third element in the American idea of equality, that of opportunity. Not without truth, and in the beginning without any especial merit, America has been known as the land of opportunity. An area suitable for cultivation of every kind, that seemed until recently boundless, covered by forests that the most unthinking prodigality has not yet exhausted, with mineral resources not even yet measured, gave and yet gives to enterprise, and under conditions of protection and of market facilities always possible and increasingly facile, a field for endeavor never rivalled. The United States has never seriously feared proletarian government, because no man with sufficient energy to revolt need or can remain proletarian. Gigantic differences in fortunes and in expenditures have existed, but differences in the actual consumption of the necessities of food and clothing have been relatively small. No whole class has been pressed below the limit of comfortable existence, and enough has remained, with cleverness, for almost the poorest of the great cities to put on in appearance a passable imitation of the rich.

In the past this has been a fruit of the freedom of institutions added to the accident of a land too large for its people. With the passing of the era of exploitation, this latter condition is undoubtedly threatened, will undoubtedly vanish unless steps be taken to preserve it. On no point has American opinion been more determined than that it shall not come to an end, and thus the belief in equality has become constructive. As is true of most American conceptions which have been strongly and widely held, the plans for preserving equality of opportunity are simple.

First is education, compulsory for all to a certain point, and open to all to any point—an education contrived to leave the

freedom of choice as to direction open to the last possible moment, that all may find satisfaction; an education which, by taking cognizance of every trade, shall render all occupations to some degree learned professions and those engaged in each fit for association with those in the others, that the good fellowship of the frontier days may be preserved.

Second is the attempt to preserve to some degree the conditions of the Frontier, by pressing forward the boundaries of knowledge. Every state and the nation maintain scientific commissions and subsidize research in universities and colleges, to learn how three blades of grass may grow where one grew before, how a greater proportion of the same may be converted into milk, how families may be raised comfortably on the by-products of pigs' tails, how new sources of power may strengthen each arm and brain, in order that the rare luxuries of our ancestors may become the universal necessities of our children, in order that the manual laborer may enjoy leisure for the cultivation of his tastes and his wisdom. Each year is revealing unsuspected resources, and one may well doubt whether with proper effort the Frontier will ever cease to afford opportunity, though its exploitation is becoming the work of the specialist, dependent for his whole existence upon the organized assistance of his fellows, and no longer that of the Jack of all trades, independent of any man's aid.

Equality of opportunity has a chance to survive, it does not require great optimism to believe that it will survive and become more general; but it is plain that the method of maintaining it involves a great change in the character of American life. No longer can the functions of public offices be made so simple that any citizen can exercise them, no longer can government be reduced to a minimum; the power of the state must expand to regulate the individual, the expert must be trusted with affairs of state. Democracy must become efficient; and many, not only of the cynical, but of the lovers of democracy, doubt whether it can become efficient, and retain the characteristics which have endeared it to its believers.

It is undoubtedly true that the expert must play a larger and larger part, and it is equally true that the expert, confident of the superiority of his own subject and of his authority in his subject, tends to become an autocrat. For thirty years we have been organizing commission after commission for special purposes, and we are gradually getting men specially trained for the work to serve upon them, the formation of the work gradually attracting the best brains of the country.

This drain of talent, added to that of private business, has been depleting the legislatures. It is rare indeed at present to find real leadership in our state legislatures, and, if it appears, it is promptly snatched away for executive purposes, or into the courts. How indeed can one lead when a single session combines topics ranging from bee raising and eugenics, through water power and butter marketing, to theories of education and the ethnological study of the Indian tribes, especially as the calendar is so full that one has scarcely the time to "read up" each subject in the pocket edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica?* Do not the experts loom imminent overshadowing the legislatures of our ancestors, autocrats whom one cannot roughly jostle out of office, because their special knowledge is so intricately tied up in the whole mesh of government activity, which more and more closely draws the net about one's private life?

I think few will deny that this is a problem of immense moment at the present time. While American, it is not uniquely American, and the same problem is causing the British Parliament to discuss devolution, or an approach to American federalism. In America I seem to have observed a gradual adaptation, without changes in the fundamental law, to this condition. Less and less have the discussions in the legislature attracted attention, more and more has interest concentrated in the various committee rooms, where groups of legislators have listened to the findings of the experts of the government commissions and to the counter cases presented by the principals or attorneys of the interests affected by the proposed

laws. Through ten, twenty, thirty, forty sittings, the committees attend, questioning but not much arguing, and at the end they give their decision like a jury after listening to evidence and arguments. In this way the legislature representing the public makes the decisions as to policy, the administration of the legislation is left in the hands of experts, checked by the executive and the courts. It is worth consideration whether this adaptation of the jury method may not reconcile the efficiency demanded of the modern state with the freedom of the individual, while the political system and education afford to all an equal opportunity to become expert or juryman. It is significant in this connection that the legislatures are more honest than they were.

To the American, therefore, democracy means liberty for the individual, limited by the power of the state, the one protected within a certain minimum by a constitution, the limits of the other determined from time to time by the will of the people, subject to the same constitution, and exercised by a majority; the two kept in equipoise by the mandates of the constitution and by the system of checks and balances upon which government is formed. In addition it means the equality of all before the law, the equal share of all in wielding the power of the state, and an equality of opportunity, which has so far placed no limits to the possibilities of individual accomplishment, but which tends to insist that each receive a minimum share of the common income.

To us democracy is not a logical conclusion or a final determination, but a middle road, an equipoise kept in balance by continual effort; it is not based upon the perfection of man but takes account of his weaknesses. It is neither a simple thing, nor an easy thing, but something worth having. Few, however, would say that this is the whole of democracy. The struggle to maintain it would certainly fail if the will to maintain it were not strong, if the people as a whole were not inspired by the spirit of democracy. First is necessary the faith that, though all the people may be fooled some of the

time, and therefore the decisions of the majority cannot be trusted from moment to moment, the mature decisions of the majority will be right, the voice of the people will be the voice of God. Secondly is necessary hope, for a democratic government cannot provide for the contingencies of the future, but must learn by an experience which all feel, and therefore one must have confidence that the truer wisdom that comes from universal understanding is worth the struggle and suffering it entails. Finally without charity, without a preponderance of love for one's fellow man, no democracy can long exist. One cannot claim that the spirit of Lincoln is typical of American democracy, but in the Platonic sense it is the reality, of which, what appears to the eye is the dim shadow.

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BUGONAYGESHIG

[From a photograph belonging to the Minnesota Historical Society, which was taken by James S. Drysdale of Walker on April 7, 1899, at Boy Lake, on the Leech Lake Reservation. Bugonaygeshig is wearing a necklace made of Krag-Jörgensen shells, picked up after the battle. At the time when the picture was taken he was still a fugitive from justice.]

THE LAST INDIAN UPRISING IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

During the month of October, 1898, there occurred at Leech Lake, in northern Minnesota, an Indian uprising which may well be called the last of the long series of bloody encounters in which the red man and the white man have clashed in the struggle for a continent. The war with Spain was then occupying the attention of everyone and a skirmish in the woods in an obscure corner of Minnesota passed with little notice. The incident is really of considerable historical interest, however, not only because of its local significance, but also because the causes were typical of those of many similar Indian uprisings and because it was the last time that a band of Indians actually engaged United States troops in battle and inflicted considerable loss upon them.

The fighting which took place between a disaffected band of Chippewa and a detachment of the Third Regiment United States Infantry[2] was of so hot a character that it recalls some of the encounters of Custer's day against the warlike Sioux. The shores of Leech Lake were the scene of the affair. This lake is a good sized body of water in the north central part of the state, the very heart of the lake region. About sixty miles west is Lake Itasca celebrated as one of the sources of the Mississippi River, and north about forty miles are Cass Lake and Lake Winnibigoshish. The Chippewa reservation prac-

[1] Read at a stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, October 13, 1919. Dr. Roddis, the author of this paper, is a lieutenant commander in the medical corps of the United States Navy. The footnotes have been supplied by Miss Dorothy Heinemann, editorial assistant on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society, in consultation with the author.—*Ed.*

[2] The Indians living on the Leech Lake Reservation belong to the Pillager band of the Chippewa. They were often considered rather disorderly and degraded but the reports of the Indian agent of the White Earth Reservation, under whose jurisdiction they were until March 1,

tically surrounds Leech Lake, on the southwestern shore of which is the town of Walker, at the time of the uprising a place of about five hundred inhabitants.[3] The country was covered with pine woods with occasional patches of hardwood timber, and was very sparsely settled. The lumberjack, the squaw man, and the backwoods farmer were the builders of most of the log cabins and little frame dwellings on the edge of "clearings" studded with stumps and girdled trees. It was one of our last frontiers and the men of those backwoods clearings were, for the most part, of that rough but picturesque type of pioneer which has filled so large a place in the American conquest of a continent.

Anyone who is familiar with the history of our Indian wars is struck by the almost monotonous sameness of their causes and yet it is surprising how little insight into their real origin is displayed by most of the writers on the subject. The reason appears to be that a certain distance in time is an almost necessary element in the development of a proper historical perspective. It is rare that the participant and contemporary has correctly judged the causes of historical events in which he was an actor or a spectator. There are exceptions to this but, in general, it may be said that Gibbon, for example, more correctly stated the causes of the decline of Roman power than

1899, indicate that in general the reverse was true. With the help gained from annuities they made their living largely from the profit of the sale of fallen timber, by hunting and fishing, and by the gathering of wild rice and berries. At the time of the outbreak they numbered about eleven hundred. The Indians immediately concerned in the uprising were popularly known as "Bear Islanders" from their residence on Bear Island in Leech Lake. There were in all, probably, not more than one hundred men and boys capable of bearing arms among them. The fighting took place on the shore just opposite the island. United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Reports*, 1893, p. 165; 1896, pp. 168, 172; 1898, p. 181; 1899, part 1, p. 209; "Report of the Major General Commanding the Army," in United States War Department, *Annual Reports*, 1: part 3, pp. 23–25; Frank R. Holmes, in *Minnesota in Three Centuries*, 4:245 (New York, 1908).

[3] *United States Census*, 1900, *Population*, 216.

any Roman could have done and it is most probable that the best history of the Great War will be written one hundred years hence.

Most of the writers on the Indian wars can be divided into two classes: those who clothed the red man in all the virtues and the white man in all the vices; and those who did just the reverse and described the Indian as a ruthless barbarian who should be exterminated. Both views are wide enough of the mark. The first group of sentimentalists, of whom Helen Hunt Jackson[4] is a good example, portrayed the Indian as the noble savage who was being robbed of his patrimony by a callous government and an avaricious race. Now nobility of soul is not a thing peculiar to any race. There are individuals who are upright and virtuous and there are scoundrels, murderers, and thieves among any people. To say that the Indians were by right the owners of the North American continent is ridiculous. That such a land was by right the exclusive property of a few hundred thousand seminomadic hunters is a preposterous proposition; yet this was not only solemnly asserted by many writers, but was tacitly admitted by our government in many instances by the purchase of land from the various tribes.[5]

Opposed to this sentimental vein was the general opinion held by the frontiersmen and settlers that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." This was a natural attitude for men to take who had seen their homes burned, their families and neighbors tortured and scalped by a fierce, barbarous, and cruel enemy. The frontiersmen heard with contempt not unmixed with hatred the sickly sentimentality indulged in by those who sat in safety at their firesides a thousand miles from danger. Yet this attitude of the borderer was almost as erroneous, although it is too much to expect that a man who has perhaps

[4] *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the North American Tribes* (London, 1881).

[5] Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West,* 1: 80–88, 331–335 (New York and London, 1889).

found his home in ashes and the mutilated remains of his wife and children in his front yard could make an imparital estimate of those who committed such outrages. The harsh judgment of the border settler was as incorrect as the sentimental attitude of those who apostrophized the Indian as the "Noble Red Man."

The truth is that the Indian was not a bad man judged according to his lights but that those lights were not such as were shed by the torch of civilization, and hence his ideas of conduct and that of civilized man were too far apart to be easily reconciled. The Indian was trained from childhood through many generations to look upon the use of the scalping knife and torture stake as righteous and honorable ways of making war, just as he was trained to view horse-stealing as a creditable pursuit and all work but that of war or the chase as demeaning. To the white man, although war had some amenities, industry was honorable. It was these fundamental differences which were the real or, as one may say, the predisposing causes of our Indian wars. The actual inciting causes of the clashes between the two races were as various as the predisposing causes were unvarying. A horse-stealing expedition, a settler murdered by a drunken brave, the injustice and peculations of an Indian agent, the desire to possess a particular piece of land, or a few bottles of bad whiskey are some of the more common ones.

In the case of the Leech Lake uprising one of the inciting causes was, apparently, certain irregularities in regard to the disposal of the dead and fallen timber on the Leech Lake Reservation. The Indians complained bitterly that they were being defrauded by white speculators, and it seems that on account of these complaints the cutting of dead and fallen timber was stopped shortly after the outbreak, pending an investigation by the department of the interior.[6] If the petition

[6] *Correspondence Relating to Timber on the Chippewa Indian Reservations,* 23 (55 Congress, 3 session, *Senate Miscellaneous Documents,* no.

of October 22, signed by fifteen Pillager chiefs and one hundred and twelve of their tribesmen, is an index to the sentiment of the band, this action, also, incensed them, for in this petition they stated that they depended on the continuance of

70—serial 3731); Secretary of the Interior, *Reports,* 1898, pp. xxxi-xxxvi. The Indians' side of the case is stated in the following petition, which was published in the *Cass County Pioneer* (Walker), October 6, 1898.

Leech Lake Indian Reservation, Minn., Sept. 25, 1898.—To the Great Father: We, the undersigned chiefs and headmen of the Pillager band of Chippewa Indians of Minnesota, in council assembled, respectfully represent that our people are carrying a heavy burden, and in order that they may not be crushed by it, we humbly petition you to send a commission, consisting of men who are honest and cannot be controlled by lumbermen, to investigate the existing troubles here.

The great trouble that we have feared for many years has finally reached us, and if you do not reach out your strong arm and correct the existing evils by removing from among us the persons who have caused them, we will be destroyed.

The Chippewa Indians of Minnesota have always been loyal to the United States and friendly to the whites, and they desire this friendship to be perpetual.

We are reluctant about taking such forcible measures to protect our tribal property from spoliation, as existing circumstances warrant us in doing, but we trust that you will protect us when the truth reaches you, which we think could be only through a commission.

We now have only the pine lands of our reservations for our future subsistence and support, but the manner in which we are being defrauded out of these has alarmed us. These lands are now, as heretofore, being underestimated by the appraisers, the pine thereon is being destroyed by fires in order to create that class of timber known as dead and down timber, so as to enable a few squaw men and mixed bloods to cut and sell the same for their own benefit.

We are not opposed to cutting and selling the dead and down timber of our reservation, but we desire it to be conducted in such a manner that the benefits therefrom will accrue to all instead of a few, and that squaw men will be excluded from operating under the names of their wives and others, and that the rules shall be strictly enforced in relation to white labor.

We further ask that no one shall be allowed who has the right to cut and sell the said dead and down timber, to take a tract of more than 160 acres to cut and sell, instead of from 20 to 30 sections, as many have done, to the complete exclusion of many of the Indians.

Until two years ago only one person was employed to superintend the cutting of dead and down timber on our reservation, at a salary of $200 per month and actual expenses during logging seasons only, but now six men are unnecessarily employed to do this work, and each one receives $7.50 per day every day in the year. We protest against this wanton and unnecessary expenditure of our tribal funds, while so many of our people are suffering from the want of the necessaries of life.

Finally, we ask that a searching investigation shall be made of the manner in which the pine lands of our reservation are being appraised and sold, and also the manner in which our tribal funds are being expended.

the logging operations during the winter to supply their families with groceries and clothing.[7]

Much resentment and bitter feeling had also been occasioned by the rather indiscriminate arrests of Indians by United States marshals, and the trouble at Leech Lake was really precipitated by the attempt of a deputy marshal to arrest certain Indians concerned in whiskey-selling practices on the reservation. On September 15 two Indians were arrested by deputy marshals and were rescued by their comrades. This was an open violation of the authority of the United States and warrants were issued for the arrest of more than twenty Indians who had taken part in the rescue.[8] As the Indians assumed a rather threatening attitude the marshals asked for troops to assist them. It was believed that a show of force in the form of a detachment of regular troops would induce sub-

[7] *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* October 29, 1898, p. 2.

[8] Conflicting stories of the hardships which Indians were forced to undergo when subpœnas were issued against them appeared in the newspapers of the time. It was rumored that when Bugonaygeshig was summoned to appear in Duluth to testify against an Indian accused of selling liquor his testimony was so unsatisfactory that he was dismissed without being paid the usual fee and as a result was forced to make his way back to Leech Lake as best he could without any funds. The official reports, however, present another account. In April, 1895, Bugonaygeshig was arrested by a deputy marshal for disposing of whiskey to an Indian, but was discharged for lack of evidence. In June he and several other Indians were subpœnaed to appear as witnesses in a case against an Indian accused of assault. When none of them appeared writs were issued and Bugonaygeshig was again arrested but was rescued by friends. Subsequently most of the Indians concerned surrendered. Three held out, however, among them Bugonaygeshig and Shobondayshkung. It was these two who were arrested on September 15. In commenting on the wholesale arrests of the Chippewa the commissioner of Indian affairs admitted, however, that, "Often wholesale arrests have been made solely for the sake of the fees which would accrue to the officials. Indians have been helped to obtain whiskey by the very ones who arrested them for using it. In some cases Indians carried off to court have been left to get back as best they could. The whole matter of arrests by deputy marshals had come to be a farce, a fraud, and a hardship to the Chippewas and a disgrace to the community." *Pioneer Press,* October 2, 1898; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports,* 1899, part 1, pp. 133, 135.

mission. Twenty men of the Third Regiment United States Infantry were dispatched to Walker, but as the Indians showed no signs of yielding a request by telegraph was made for more troops and on October 4 eighty additional men of the Third Infantry left Fort Snelling for the scene of the trouble.[9] They were commanded by Captain and Brevet Major Melville C. Wilkinson and were accompanied by Brigadier General John M. Bacon, commanding officer of the department of Dakota.[10]

Two days later the war and interior departments in Washington received a bombshell in the shape of the following telegram from the assistant adjutant general at St. Paul.[11]

In answer to a telegram to your marshal at Walker, Minn., have received reply giving location of Gen. Bacon on mainland, southwest corner of Leech Lake and saying:

'Commenced fighting at 11 : 30 yesterday. Indians seem to have best position. Not moving. Maj. Wilkinson, five soldiers and two Indian police killed; awaiting reinforcements.'

Press dispatches and private Western Union dispatches seem to support these statements. Reinforcements will doubtless reach the command this evening. Reliable information indicates Indians

[9] The first detachment, under the command of Second Lieutenant Chauncey B. Humphreys, left Fort Snelling on September 30 and arrived at Walker in the evening of the same day. Two representatives of the Indian office, John H. Sutherland, agent at White Earth, and Inspector Arthur M. Tinker, also arrived at Walker on September 30. On the following day, October 1, a call was sent out for a council to be held on October 3. None of the Bear Islanders attended this council, but the other Indians claimed that their failure to appear was due to the bad weather which made it impossible for them to cross the lake. The council was adjourned, therefore, until the following day. The next morning Marshal O'Connor and Inspector Tinker went to Bear Island unarmed and held a conference with the Indians but failed to persuade them to surrender. The second detachment of troops arrived in Walker late in the afternoon of October 4. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report,* 1899, part 1, p. 132; *Pioneer Press,* September 29 to October 5, 1898.

[10] General Bacon was attached to the Eighth Regiment United States Cavalry but had temporarily relieved Brigadier General James F. Wade. Headquarters Department of Dakota, *Special Orders,* no. 136, October 3, 1898; Secretary of War, *Reports,* 1899, pp. 23, 24; *Army Register,* 1898.

[11] *Pioneer Press,* October 7, 1898, p. 1.

quiet in vicinity of engineer dams to the northeast. No report yet from Gen. Bacon. No need for further reinforcements unless to send to vicinity of Leech lake dam to cut off escape of Indians. Would suggest authority be given to utilize one battalion of Minnesota volunteers in case of need. Report just received of arrival of Col. Harbach's command at Walker about 4 o'clock.

The events which occasioned such a telegram had not been anticipated by the military. According to one of the newspaper correspondents who accompanied the expedition, General Bacon did not believe that there was likely to be serious trouble. The correspondents and United States Marshal O'Connor, however, did not agree with him and thought that an Indian outbreak was inevitable. It was fully decided that in any event a force should go to a point on the northwest side of the lake where Bugonaygeshig, one of the two Indians rescued from the marshals on September 15, and a number of his rescuers were known to be living.[12]

The force consisted of seventy-seven men from the Third Infantry under Captain Wilkinson and Second Lieutenant Tenny Ross, General Bacon, Acting Assistant Surgeon Henry S. T. Harris, Marshal Richard T. O'Connor, six deputy marshals, a few Indian policemen, and four newspaper correspondents, K. C. Beaton of the *Minneapolis Tribune,* Harry L. Knappen of the *Minneapolis Times,* A. F. Morton of the *St. Paul Globe,* and William H. Brill of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press.* The plan was to embark the troops in two small lake steamers, the "Chief" and the "Flora," and a barge which was to be taken in tow. The start was to be made at four o'clock Wednesday morning, October 5, but it was about six o'clock when the boats shoved off from the dock at Walker. General Bacon, Marshal O'Connor, several deputy marshals and

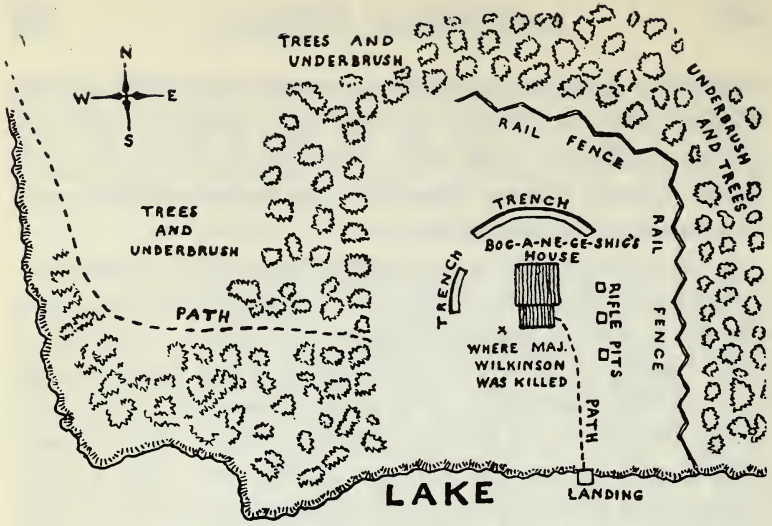
[12] The narrative of the encounter at Sugar Point is based on the accounts written by William H. Brill and published in the *Pioneer Press* for October 8 and 12, 1898, and on General Bacon's report to Adjutant General Corbin, dated November 1, which is published in part in the *Pioneer Press* for November 2, 1898.

twenty-five troops under Lieutenant Ross were on board the "Chief." On the "Flora" and the barge towed by her were Captain Wilkinson with the remainder of the troops, Dr. Harris, Deputy Marshal Sheehan,[13] the Indian policemen, and the newspaper correspondents.

A trip of about three hours brought them to their destination, a peninsula jutting into the lake from its north shore and about opposite a wooded island known as Bear Island. Here was a little clearing of fifteen or twenty acres and a log house, the home of Bugonaygeshig. The point of land was about eight or ten feet above the level of the lake, with a gradual slope covered with shrubs and boulders. There were half a dozen Indians to be seen standing about the hut and as the boats drew near the shore one of these, wrapped in the traditional red blanket, came down the path to the landing in the most friendly manner.

The water shoaled so gradually off the point that the steamer "Chief" went aground about fifty yards from the shore and the "Flora," the smaller of the two vessels, was able to get only a few yards nearer. The barge was then poled into the beach and Captain Wilkinson, the four correspondents, the deputy marshals, and the soldiers from the "Flora" and the barge landed. The troops were formed near the landing and a third of them marched up and halted in front of the log house. The deputy marshals had already preceded them. One of the Indians near the hut, Mahqua, was identified by Deputy Marshal Sheehan as a dangerous member of the Pillager band who had taken a leading part in the rescue of the two Indians from the officers. Mahqua resisted arrest most vigorously, twisting the handcuffs from the hands of the marshal and attempting to hit him on the head with them. The marshal

[13] Colonel Timothy J. Sheehan had served in the Fifth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War and in the Sioux Massacre of 1862. *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861–1865,* 1:245–251, 734 (2d edition, St. Paul, 1891).



MAP OF THE BATTLE GROUND OPPOSITE BEAR ISLAND

MAP OF THE LOCALITY OF THE INDIAN HOSTILITIES

[Redrawn from sketches in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, October 6, 8, 1898.]

parried the blow, the irons bruising his right hand. Sheehan and the Indian grappled, several of the soldiers and deputy marshals joined the fray, and the Indian was overpowered, handcuffed, and sent on board the "Flora" under guard. While the arrest was being made five Indians armed with Winchesters left the house and made their way to the nearby woods, but, as none of them were recognized as persons wanted by the authorities, they were allowed to leave unmolested.

In the meantime General Bacon, Marshal O'Connor, and the remainder of the expedition landed and the clearing and its surroundings were examined. This clearing, which contained about twenty acres, was nearly square and was bounded on one side by the lake and on the other three sides by dense woods of maple and ash beneath which was a thick underbrush. The cleared land was overgrown with grass and weeds and dotted with stumps and a number of large maples, some girdled and others in leaf. To the south of the log house which stood in the center of the clearing was a patch of turnips and to the east side was a small field of potatoes. A rail fence covered with wild cucumber and other vines extended from the edge of the lake along the east and about three-fourths of the north side of the clearing. The green of the forest was already turning to the somber hues of autumn save that here and there the leaves of the soft maple and the sumac glowed like tongues of flame against the dark background of the forest.

After a brief consultation it was decided to scour the adjacent woods for Indians and a skirmish line of twenty-five men was sent out across the clearing and a short distance into the woods with orders to bring in any Indians seen. This searching party returned in about fifteen or twenty minutes, having seen two armed Indians, and those running along the shore at such a distance as to make their capture impossible.

There were three small Indian villages on the point and the next step was to visit these and see if any of the men wanted by the marshals might not be apprehended there or in the

nearby woods. Lieutenant Ross with about sixty men was left to guard the landing while the detachment of twenty-five soldiers, General Bacon, Captain Wilkinson, Marshal O'Connor, three of the deputy marshals, and the four newspaper correspondents set off on a "hike" across the point. They followed a path which, leading out from the west side of the clearing and along the shore of the lake, came to an inlet about fifty feet wide and two or three feet deep. This had to be forded. They all waded through with the exception of Deputy Marshal Sheehan who was strongly opposed to a wet-feet campaign and who turned back to the clearing. The others followed the path, which meandered through the woods for about two miles. Three Indian villages were passed and although numbers of old men, women, and children clustered about the log and birch bark huts looking at the soldiers, no young men and no arms were seen. After a short halt at the last village the party returned to the clearing.

Here nothing of any importance had taken place except that a brave who had taken part in the rescue of Bugonaygeshig had given himself up. He was sent on board the "Flora" under guard together with two sick men, a hospital steward, and Marshal O'Connor. Morton, the correspondent of the *Globe,* also returned to the "Flora."

It was now about 11 : 30 and the men were drawn up near the house and ordered to stack arms preparatory to dismissal for dinner. As nearly as can be made out, one of the recruit's rifles was fired accidently as the men were stacking arms. This, according to most of the witnesses, was followed by two shots from the woods, evidently fired as a signal and then by a volley from the three sides of the clearing. The men without waiting for orders snatched their guns from the stacks and jumped for the cover afforded by the house, the stumps, and the irregularities of the ground. A soldier who was present told the writer that in half a minute after the first fire from the Indians there was not a man in sight. There were only

PART OF THE LEECH LAKE BATTLE GROUND

[From a contemporary photograph belonging to William H. Brill, St. Paul.]

nineteen veterans in the detachment, the remainder being raw recruits who had never been under fire before and some of whom scarcely knew how to load and fire their own rifles. That there was a sort of panic for a few minutes as stated by some of the eyewitnesses is not strange. The suddenness of the attack from the concealed foe would have shaken the courage of veterans. Encouraged, however, by the shouts and example of their officers and by the old soldiers in the force, the men quickly recovered themselves and formed a rough skirmish line in the shape of an irregular crescent, facing toward the wooded sides of the clearing and with their backs to the lake. Here from the best cover they could obtain they vigorously returned the Indians' fire. General Bacon with Captain Wilkinson took charge of the center of the line, Lieutenant Ross the left, and Deputy Marshal Sheehan, who was an old soldier, the right. General Bacon, rifle in hand, fought like a common soldier, while he continued with the other officers to encourage the men by word and example. All the officers exposed themselves freely to the Indians' fire, walking up and down the line to see to the disposition of the troops. Captain Wilkinson proved himself true to the traditions of the brave though profane old army as he walked along the line shouting: "Give it to them boys; give 'em hell! We've got 'em licked! Give 'em hell." He was in the full uniform of his rank and evidently drew the fire of the Indians for he soon received a slight flesh wound in the right arm and a few minutes later a bullet struck his left thigh just above the knee. He fell to the ground saying to Lieutenant Ross: "I'm hit, Ross, but not badly. Keep 'em at it." He was carried behind the log house where the hospital steward dressed his wound as the captain sat propped up against the wall. But nothing could keep him out of the fight and as soon as his wound was dressed he was back on the firing line. He had scarcely returned when a bullet struck him in the right side passing completely through the abdomen and he fell mortally wounded.

"Give 'em hell," he shouted to General Bacon as he breathed his last a few minutes after being hit.[14]

For a time both Indians and soldiers kept up a hot fire although neither side had much to aim at save the puffs of smoke. By the volume of fire from the woods it appeared that the braves were about equal in number to the soldiers. It was very easy to distinguish the rifle fire of the Indians for most of them were armed with Winchesters whose duller reports were punctuated by the sharp staccato crack of the soldiers' Krag-Jörgensens.

At the end of about half an hour the fusilade from the woods slackened and there was a short respite after which it broke out again more fiercely than before. Altogether there were six separate attacks or rather bursts of fire from the woods with short intervals between until about three o'clock in the afternoon when apparently the main body of the Indians withdrew. Occasionally a few shots would come from the woods but the main attack was over. It had lasted for three hours and a half and had resulted for the troops in the loss of one officer and five men killed and ten men wounded.[15] There were plenty of narrow escapes among the remainder. A num-

[14] The *Pioneer Press* of October 7, 1898, contains a brief sketch of Captain Wilkinson.

[15] Those killed were: Captain Melville C. Wilkinson, Sergeant William S. Butler, and Privates John Onstead, Albert Ziebel, Edward J. Lowe, and Daniel F. Schwallenstocker. The wounded were: Sergeant Le Roy Ayres, and Privates Charles Turner, John Daly, George Wicker, Edward Brown, Jess S. Jensen, Gottfried Ziegler, Ermenigildo Antonelli, Charley Francone, and Julius A. Boucher. Adjutant general's records in the war department, Washington. See also Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports,* 1899, part 1, p. 134; and Secretary of War, *Reports,* 1899, p. 24.

The civilian losses were: one killed, an Indian policeman; and six wounded, among whom were Deputy Marshal Sheehan and Indian Inspector Tinker. At first it was believed and reported that the Indians suffered heavily, but as they carried away their dead and wounded none were seen. The Indians were very uncommunicative in regard to their casualities long after the engagement and what statements they did make were so conflicting that their actual loss is still problematical. According to some of the chiefs no Indians were killed and only two were wounded. Colonel Sheehan, however, considered the fact that six Winchesters were

ber had bullet holes in their clothing, one man had a bullet graze his chin, and another had a bullet take a piece of skin from the bridge of his nose. A bullet went through General Bacon's hat passing within an inch of his head. All from the general to the last recruit fought well and instances of individual gallantry were common. General Bacon, Lieutenant Ross, and Marshal Sheehan as well as Captain Wilkinson all showed great coolness and resolution, as did the noncommissioned officers, particularly First Sergeant Kelly who took charge of the center of the line after the fall of Captain Wilkinson. Sergeant Butler was killed by a bullet through the head while exposing himself in the carrying of a message. The hospital steward, Burkhard, distinguished himself by his disregard of danger while bringing in wounded and by rendering first aid to the wounded under fire. The surgeon, Dr. Harris, was equally devoted to his duty. He was on board one of the steamers when action began, having accompanied one of the sick sent to the steamer. He returned to the command again by rowing ashore under fire in a small skiff. Together with his hospital steward he upheld the highest traditions of his department for matter of fact courage and efficient performance of duty in the face of danger and difficulties.

At the commencement of the firing the steamers lying off the point were exposed to a sharp rifle fire from the Indians and in a short time they stood out from the shore and returned to Walker where no little excitement and consternation was caused by the report which they brought. Indian Inspector Tinker, Marshal O'Connor, and several of the deputy marshals were aboard, and their rather hurried return to Walker, leaving the soldiers to fight it out or be driven into the lake, caused a great deal of unfavorable comment and a good many broad hints that the courage of those aboard was rather questionable.

found after the engagement sufficient evidence that six Indians were killed. He believed that an Indian never dropped his gun until he was dead. *Pioneer Press,* October 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 1898; *Cass County Pioneer,* October 13, 1898.

It seems, however, that both Inspector Tinker and the marshal were desirous of getting to town to hurry up reinforcements as well as to send food and blankets to General Bacon's detachment. The boats themselves were quite unable to render any material assistance as their sides and pilot houses were readily pierced by rifle bullets.

The night was an anxious one for General Bacon's men. The wounded were made as comfortable as possible and a trench and some rifle pits were dug and pickets posted. Several alarms took place and an Indian policeman was killed by a sentry who mistook him for one of the hostiles. The provisions were scanty and the men did not have their blankets. When morning came the little force was well intrenched and felt confident that it could easily repulse the Indians if again attacked. Most of the enemy had apparently left the peninsula but occasional shots from the woods proved that some of the Indians were still lurking there. A chance shot killed a soldier digging potatoes in the neighboring field, and the situation was hardly a pleasant one, particularly for the wounded. The arrival of a steamer from Walker with blankets and a quantity of food greatly cheered the men. The steamer was fired upon and consequently was able to take off only one of the wounded.

About 3:30 P. M., October 6, Lieutenant Colonel Abram A. Harbach with a force of two hundred and fourteen men and a Gatling gun arrived at Walker to reinforce the detachment at Sugar Point.[16] About two hours later the steamer "Flora," returning with the dead and wounded of General Bacon's party, brought the report that fighting had practically ceased and that the steamer had established satisfactory communication with the shore. Indeed from about noon on the sixth no Indians were seen and only one or two shots were fired. The wounded were sent to the Walker hospital and the bodies of the dead were taken to Bailey's warehouse near the dock.[17]

[16] Secretary of War, *Reports,* 1899, p. 24.

[17] *Pioneer Press,* October 7, 1898; *Cass County Pioneer,* October 13, 1898.

DETACHMENT OF THE THIRD UNITED STATES INFANTRY

[From a photograph belonging to William H. Brill, St. Paul. The picture was taken in the streets of Walker a few days after the Battle of Leech Lake, in which the detachment participated.]

About noon on Friday, October 7, General Bacon's force embarked on the steamer "Leila D." arriving about five-thirty in the afternoon at the Walker dock where they were warmly greeted by the citizens and by the men of Colonel Harbach's command. The next morning the latter force went to the Indian agency five miles north of Walker where they pitched tents and went into camp. Runners were sent out inviting the Indians to come to the agency for a council to discuss the surrender of the braves for whom warrants had been issued and to investigate and settle the complaints in regard to the disposal of the dead and fallen timber. The United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, W. A. Jones, arrived from Washington, October 10, and the next morning he and Father Aloysius, a priest who had great influence over the Indians, went to Bear Island, where they had a long and friendly conference with those chiefs of the Pillager band who were principally concerned in the outbreak.[18]

The news of the clash between the troops and the Indians spread like wildfire and resulted in a general alarm throughout the northern villages. The settlers and timber cruisers poured into the towns for protection and telegrams were sent to the adjutant general of the department requesting that troops be sent to Walker, Bemidji, Farris, Cass Lake, Deer River, and Aitken, while, at the same time the citizens of these towns armed and organized for the defense of their homes. At Bemidji something like a panic took place. The women were collected in the court house and two hundred armed citizens kept watch and ward. The arrival of detachments of troops in the villages soon quieted the alarm and caused the excitement to subside.[19]

[18] *Cass County Pioneer,* October 13, 1898.

[19] *Pioneer Press,* October 7–11, 1898. One hundred men of the Duluth Battalion, Fourteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, were sent to Bemidji on October 9, 1898. Headquarters Department of Dakota, *Special Orders,* no. 138.

Troops were poured into the Indian country, not only for the sake of actual protection in case of an extensive uprising, but also to impress the Indians with the fact that recourse to arms was hopeless and that the government was determined to suppress any armed resistance to its authority. At the same time a thorough investigation of the Indians' complaints in regard to the disposal of the dead timber on their land was promised. Influenced by the tact of the Indian commissioner, persuaded by the chiefs and leading men of the tribe, which has always been conspicuously friendly to the whites, and also, probably, impressed by the military force brought to the scene, the Bear Islanders gradually acceded to the demands of the marshals and by the middle of October practically all the men for whom warrants had been issued were in the hands of the authorities. They were transferred to Duluth for trial. When their cases came up before Judge Lochren on October 21, all were found guilty and were given sentences varying from sixty days imprisonment and a fine of twenty-five dollars to ten months and one hundred dollars. On December 13, the Indian office recommended that the term of imprisonment be commuted to two months and that the fines be remitted, and finally on June 3, 1899, the pardons were granted.[20]

LOUIS H. RODDIS

U. S. S. VERMONT
PACIFIC FLEET

[20] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports,* 1899, part 1, p. 134; *Pioneer Press,* October 12, 23, 1898.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE GOODHUE PRESS

In two articles published November 8 and November 17, 1919, in the *Daily Argus-Leader* of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, the authenticity of the historic press which is preserved in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society is attacked. In the second of these articles, Doane Robinson, secretary of the South Dakota Historical Society, is quoted as saying "that the authorities of the state of Minnesota have no claim to possession of the old Washington handpress which was used to print the first newspaper in three different states—Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota." Robinson alleges that the original Goodhue press used in the publication of the *Minnesota Pioneer* was purchased by Samuel J. Albright in 1858 and taken to Sioux Falls, where it was partially destroyed by the Indians in 1862. In support of his contention, he quotes a letter from Governor Albright, dated December 14, 1899, as follows:

> The press was a Washington, of the Smith pattern, manufactured in Cincinnati, O., by Charles Mallett. It was purchased from the manufacturer in 1834 by John King. In the spring of 1836 be brought it to Dubuque, Ia., and the Visitor, the first paper in Iowa, was printed upon it. In 1842 General H. A. Wiltse bought it and removed it to Lancaster, Wis., where he established the Grant County Herald. There it was sold to J. M. Goodhue, who, in the spring of 1849, removed it to St. Paul, Minn., and established upon it the Minnesota Pioneer, the first newspaper in that state. In 1858 I bought it and brought it to Sioux Falls, where July 2, 1859, I established the Dakota Democrat and printed it upon it; the first paper in Dakota.

There seems to be no doubt that the old hand press which Albright bought in 1858 and took west published the first newspaper in South Dakota, and probably the remnants now pre-

served in the Masonic Museum at Sioux Falls—said to have been rescued from a rock pile some eight years after the Sioux Outbreak of 1862—belong to the Albright press. Unfortunately Governor Albright does not tell where he bought his press, but leads one to assume from his letter that he purchased it in St. Paul. Robinson explains that "Samuel J. Albright, squatter governor of Dakota who brought the press to Dakota and established the Dakota Democrat at Sioux Falls on July 2, 1859, settled in St. Paul in 1853 and soon after became associate editor of the St. Paul Pioneer; in 1856 he left the Pioneer and established the St. Paul Press, so that he was intimately acquainted with the affairs of both papers which subsequently were consolidated."

The available evidence seems to indicate that the Goodhue press was not in St. Paul during the greater part of the time that Albright was there, and the weakness of the South Dakota claim to the possession of the remnants of this press lies in the failure to explain its whereabouts during the years 1854 to 1858. Shortly after Earle S. Goodrich purchased the *Pioneer* from Joseph R. Brown in March, 1854, he installed a power press and began the publication of the *Daily Pioneer.*[1] The Goodhue hand press was sold to Jeremiah Russell and taken to Sauk Rapids early in 1855. In May of that year Russell issued the first number of the *Sauk Rapids Frontiersman,* with the assistance of William H. Wood. In December, 1859, the press and equipment of the *Frontiersman* were sold to Wood, and in its place another paper, the *New Era,* appeared on January 12, 1860. The following year the Goodhue press was purchased by C. C. Andrews of St. Cloud who used it in the pub-

[1] The *Minnesota Pioneer,* March 16, 1854, p. 2, carries a statement signed by Joseph R. Brown, dated March 13, announcing the sale of the paper to Earle S. Goodrich and Company and also an announcement by the new proprietor that the *Daily Pioneer* was to begin on May 1 and was to be printed on a power press. The *Daily Pioneer* for December 16, 1854 announces that it was "Printed by Steam on Taylor's Cylinder Printing Machine."

lication of the *Minnesota Union,* the first number of which was issued June 14, 1861. Andrews joined the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in October, and shortly afterward Spafford and Simonton took over the press for the *St. Cloud Union.* In 1868 it was again sold, this time to the publishers of the *Sauk Center Herald,* and it continued to be used in that region for some years. In 1897 the historic press was moved to Lindstrom, where it was used by the publishers of *Medborgaren (The Citizen),* a Swedish newspaper, until August 1, 1899. Finally in 1905 the Pioneer Press Company of St. Paul purchased the old press and presented it to the Minnesota Historical Society.[2]

A letter to the writer, dated January 22, 1920, from Frank Moore, now of Oregon City, Oregon, who was for many years foreman of the press room of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* not only corroborates these conclusions, but furnishes what is probably the correct identification of the press now preserved at Sioux Falls. "Your version of the history of the Goodhue press," he writes, "is correct as far as I know. As I remember it the Weekly Pioneer was printed on the Goodhue Press until the Daily Pioneer was started sometime in 1854, I think, and was then discarded for a power press and sold to a Sauk Rapids party. When the Pioneer and Democrat consolidated two or three years later the hand press they used was discarded, and

[2] "The Presses of Half a Century," in *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* November 9, 1899, p. 39; Daniel S. B. Johnston, "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 10:279 (part 1); "Newspapers of Minnesota during the Territorial Period," in Minnesota Territorial Pioneers' Association, *Proceedings and Addresses at the Second Annual Mid-Winter Reunion,* 1:47 (St. Paul, 1899); partial files of the *Sauk Rapids Frontiersman,* 1856–1859, *New Era* (Sauk Rapids), January 26, 1860–November 29, 1860, *Minnesota Union* (St. Cloud), 1861, and *St. Cloud Union,* 1864, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society; statements of Major Edwin Clark, former publisher of the *Falls Evening News* (St. Anthony), and of General C. C. Andrews; Warren Upham to Condé Hamlin, general manager of the Pioneer Press Company, September 12, 1905, in Minnesota Historical Society, Letter Books, B10.

that is the press I think Sam Albright took to Dakota with him. Albright was a compositor on the Pioneer and left St. Paul for Dakota shortly after I arrived there." If this statement is correct, then Albright took out to Dakota the press used by the *Minnesota Democrat* and not the one used by Goodhue on the *Minnesota Pioneer*. From the evidence presented it seems clear that the Goodhue press never left Minnesota but continued in active service down to 1899 and was still in good condition when it reached its resting place in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK JR.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities; The Lithic Industries (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins,* no. 60, part 1). By W. H. Holmes. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919. xvii, 380 p. Illustrations.)

In the preface the author states that this handbook is the second of a series of treatises which will systematically cover a number of the subjects briefly discussed in the *Handbook of American Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins,* no. 30). It "is not designed as a formal presentation of American archaeology in which the antiquities are described and discussed country by country, or region by region, in geographical sequence, but rather as a reference manual, the principal purpose of which is to assemble and present the antiquities of the continent in such a manner and order as to make them readily available to the student who shall undertake to present a comprehensive view of the evolution of culture among men."

With this purpose in mind, the first 152 pages are devoted to a discussion of the problems involved in archeological work, questions of tribal migrations, trade relations, cultural areas, the antiquity of man, and similar preliminary considerations. Here too the classification of archeological matter is discussed, and various systems are compared. In chapter 8 Dr. Holmes takes up the evidence which has been adduced to prove the existence of man in America in the preglacial epoch and concludes "that the continent was probably not reached and occupied until the final retreat of the glacial ice from middle North America." Of particular interest to Minnesota readers in this connection is his discussion of the problem of the Little Falls quartzes.

The remainder of the volume deals with two main topics, first, the occurrence and production of the raw materials, and second, the methods of fashioning the material into the finished stone product. "The second volume is to be devoted exclusively to the implements, utensils, and other minor artifacts of stone." Sketches and pictures of aboriginal quarries and workshops, numerous photographs of implements in various stages of manu-

facture, and pictures of life-size groups in the National Museum enable the reader to appreciate the difficulties of production in the Stone Age. Among the substances quarried by the aborigines was catlinite, or red pipestone, which was extensively used in making tobacco pipes and ceremonial articles. This material was obtained principally at the famous quarry near Pipestone in southwestern Minnesota, and the author devotes his twenty-fourth chapter to a discussion of the conditions and methods of working it. A number of pictures add to the interest of the section.

The book is profusely illustrated with pictures which help to give a working knowledge of the subject. It is carefully indexed. equipped with a table of contents and a list of illustrations, and supplied with a bibliography. It is, indeed, what it purports to be, a *Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities.*

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK JR.

The North West Company (University of California, *Publications in History,* vol. 7). By GORDON CHARLES DAVIDSON, Ph. D., first lieutenant, Canadian Mounted Rifles. (Berkley, University of California Press, 1918. xi, 349 p. Illustrations.)

Since the great Canadian fur-trading organization known as the Northwest Company was the virtual ruler of the most of Minnesota from the close of the American Revolution until after the War of 1812, and since the company's principal *entrepôt* for the trade west of the Great Lakes was at Grand Portage, within the present boundaries of the state, a history of that company should be of considerable interest to Minnesota readers. The character of this volume is well set forth in the following extract from a review by Wayne E. Stevens, which appeared in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December, 1919. Dr. Stevens has made special studies of several phases of the subject of the book and is in a position to speak with authority about it.

So few books of real worth have been written concerning the fur trade of North America that the appearance of a new volume in this field may be regarded as an event, particularly when it deals with so important and little-known a phase of the subject as the history of the North West company. Mr. Davidson's volume is the most pretentious study of the sort which has appeared since the publication of Chittenden's *American fur trade of the far west.* An examination of the bibliography

reveals that the writer has searched the field with the most painstaking care in an effort to obtain all the material available. He has personally investigated the principal British and Canadian archives and has brought to light considerable manuscript and some printed material which has never before been used. After studying the bibliography, however, one can not but be impressed by the scarcity of information which is available concerning the business operations of the North West Company. There is very little material in the form of accounts and other business papers which throws light upon the history of the concern as an economic enterprise. There is likewise an almost entire absence of correspondence or letter books of the partners of the concern, which if available would be of the utmost value. The various agreements between the partners which formed the basis of the organization of the company at various times have been preserved and likewise copies of the journal kept by the *bourgeois*. The latter, however, are for the most part concerned with descriptions of the country in the interior and contain all too little information concerning the conduct of the business. In making any critical estimate of Mr. Davidson's work, then, it must be constantly born in mind that he has been greatly handicapped owing to the fact that the records of the North West company itself have not been obtainable. After all is said, one can not but feel satisfied that the volume contains nearly all of the available facts concerning the history of the company, from its origin in the latter part of the eighteenth century down through the turbulent years of strife with rival fur companies and Lord Selkirk and the Red River colony, until its absorption by the Hudson's Bay company in 1821. There is one valuable manuscript, however, which the writer does not mention. It is in the form of a folio of some eighty closely-written pages and is preserved in the Baby collection at the Bibliothéque St. Sulpice, Montreal. This folio contains the minutes of meetings of the North West partners held at Grand Portage and later at Kamanistiquia between the years 1801 and 1806. These minutes, which have never been published, contain a great deal of information relative to the administration of the departments in the interior, the allotment of shares, and negotiations with the Hudson's Bay, Michillimackinac, and American fur companies, while they also throw interesting sidelights upon the life of the interior. In some respects they constitute as valuable a source as any which the author has used.

After due allowance has been made for the scarcity of material, however, Mr. Davidson's treatment of his subject leaves much to be desired. First of all, his method is extremely labored and the reader cannot avoid a feeling that the author has been obsessed with the fear of omitting a single fact regardless of how essential it may be for the purpose of explaining what the North West company was and how it conducted its operations. The outlines of the story are obscured by the mass of detail which, if necessary at all, should have been relegated to the footnotes—although they are already overburdened—or to one of the nineteen appendices.

In conclusion it may be noted that the volume contains several photographic reproductions of manuscript maps made by Peter Pond, on one of which is indicated the place on the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River where he spent the winter of 1773–74, also that the chapter on "The Struggle with the Hudson's Bay Company" tells the story of the Selkirk settlement in the Red River Valley.

S. J. B.

Portland Prairie in Present Times, Including a Treatise on the Physical Formation of Houston County. (Larimore, North Dakota, H. V. Arnold, 1919. 122, xl p.)

Mr. Arnold is the author, editor, publisher and printer of a series of volumes on the history of small communities, familiar to him, in various parts of the Northwest. His most recent contribution to the field of local history supplements an earlier volume, *Old Times on Portland Prairie* (1911. 120 p.). The scene of both these narratives is an agricultural community embracing portions of two townships, Winnebago and Wilmington, in the southern part of Houston County, Minnesota, and a small section of northern Iowa. In the earlier volume the author presents the history of this locality to the year 1880; in the later volume, in which that history is continued to the present, he emphasizes an aspect of his subject too often ignored by writers of local history, the economic and social development of the community in question. He repeats at times, in so doing, material published in the first narrative, but this is usually greatly condensed.

The first three chapters of the present volume contain a general account of the development of Portland Prairie into a modern stock-raising and dairying community and of the consequent alterations in the life of the people. The opening chapter describes conditions in the pioneer period, from 1851 to 1865, for the sake of contrasting the "days of straw barns and generally indifferent houses" when the settler depended upon wheat raising for a livelihood with the more prosperous and improved aspect of the prairie farms in present times. A brief chapter on "An Intermediate Stage" treats of the transitional period between 1865 and 1900,

when living conditions were rapidly improving and the radical industrial change was taking place. A community transformed by these altered conditions is pictured in a third chapter on "Present Times." Today the inhabitants of the region, in marked contrast to those of half a century ago, have all the comforts and conveniences possible for the modern farmer; today the district is a leading butter-producing section of the "Bread and Butter State." Specific examples of the industrial evolution of the locality, consisting of sketches of "Some of the Prairies Farms," are presented in chapter 5. Whenever possible, the author begins the history of a farm with the original acquisition of the land from the government; he then proceeds to discuss succeeding owners and their family records and to enumerate improvements on the property. The geography and geology of the region are treated in chapter 4 and in the appendix, respectively.

Mr. Arnold has based his work upon information acquired by long residence in Portland Prairie and by personal acquaintance with its inhabitants. The book is somewhat crudely printed and, since the author is "accustomed to put whole pages in type without using any written copy," it is not surprising that numerous typographical errors appear. This is a minor matter, however, compared to the service which Mr. Arnold has rendered not only to the community whose history is thus preserved, but to the cause of history in general, for the conditions and transformations which he describes in detail are typical of agricultural communities throughout the Northwest.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

The Story of a Minnesotan. By LOREN WARREN COLLINS, former associate justice of the Minnesota Supreme Court. (N. p., n. d. 86 p. Portrait.)

This autobiographical sketch, written by Judge Collins after his retirement from the supreme bench in 1904, was found among his papers after his death in 1912 and has just been published by his sons for private circulation. It is a narrative of considerable historical interest, not so much for the few striking experiences related as for its vivid portrayal of frontier life and conditions.

The first chapter covers the author's boyhood days in Massachusetts, where he was born in 1838, and gives an account of a "Minnesota Colony" organized at Springfield in 1852, of which Judge Collins's father was a member. The next chapter tells of the family's trip to Minnesota in the winter and spring of 1854, of pioneer farming on Eden Prairie, and of the activities of a claim association. The father sold his claim in the fall of 1855 and took his family back to Massachusetts, but the Minnesota fever was too strong for him and the following year found him keeping a hotel at a boom town named Lewiston, on the Cannon River, near Northfield. The future jurist took up a claim in Goodhue County, but his "ambition to till the soil was washed out" by a terrific hail storm and cloud-burst and in 1858 he turned to school teaching. The following year he commenced the study of law at Hastings, and he was soon taking a lively interest in politics.

One chapter tells of Collins's experiences as a member of the Seventh Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the campaign against the Sioux in 1862, of guarding the Indian prisoners after the outbreak was over, and of the hanging of the condemned Indians at Mankato, which he witnessed. Another chapter is devoted to his Civil War services, which included commanding the military police of St. Louis for several months in 1864, and campaigning in Missouri, Tennessee, and Alabama.

In May, 1866, Collins began the practice of law at St. Cloud. He tells many interesting incidents of life in this frontier community and of his political career, which started with his election as county attorney in the fall of 1866 and culminated in his appointment to the supreme court of the state in 1887. The famous contest between him and Robert C. Dunn for the Republican nomination for governor is treated only briefly.

To the student of history Judge Collins's autobiography is more valuable than most reminiscent narratives. In preparing it he evidently did not rely wholly on his memory but consulted letters and diaries and in some cases even searched through archives and newspaper files in the endeavor to secure all available information. The book is a distinct contribution to Minnesota history.

SOLON J. BUCK

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The fifty-odd members and friends of the society who braved the elements on the night of December 8 to attend the open meeting of the executive council were rewarded with hearing a very interesting talk by Colonel George E. Leach on "The 151st United States Field Artillery in the World War." The annual meeting of the society was held on January 12 and included an open session in the auditorium, which was filled to overflowing with an audience of about 225 people. The annual address, by Dr. Carl Russell Fish, professor of American history at the University of Wisconsin, was a brilliant analysis of "American Democracy." The museum was open to the public both before and after the meeting, and most of those in attendance took advantage of the opportunity to inspect the exhibits.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled, during the quarter ending January 31, 1920: Arthur T. Adams, Willoughby M. Babcock Jr., David P. Jones, and Frederick W. Sardeson of Minneapolis; Grover H. Wilsey of St. Paul; Edward C. Congdon of Duluth; John H. Hill of Ironton; Martin C. F. Schumann of Litchfield; Helen Benn Morse of East Grand Forks; J. E. Haycraft of Fairmont; and Royal H. Holbrook of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Deaths during the same period include those of one honorary member, Charles H. Hitchcock of Honolulu, November 5; and of three active members, George Bertram Ware of St. Paul, December 23; the Reverend John Wright of St. Paul, December 24; and Dr. Caryl B. Storrs of Minneapolis, January 18. The death of Samuel A. Green of Boston, an honorary member, which occurred December 5, 1918, has not heretofore been noted in the BULLETIN.

The total number of members on the rolls of the society January 1, 1920, was 514, of whom 16 are honorary, 68 corresponding, and 430 active members. The active members are further classified as 293 life, 41 sustaining, and 96 annual. Thirty-seven new members were enrolled during the year, all active. Sixteen mem-

bers were dropped for non-payment of dues, and fourteen died during the year, making a total loss of thirty. Of these twenty-six belonged to the class of active members, two were corresponding, and two were honorary members. It will be seen, therefore, that there has been a net increase of eleven in the active membership and seven in the total membership. The society needs more active members, not for the dues, which on the average do not equal the cost of the publications supplied to the members, but to enable it to keep in touch with a larger number of people and to bring about a more general appreciation of its services to the state and of the greater services which it might render under more favorable circumstances.

The additions to the library in 1919 number 2,474 books and 891 pamphlets, a total of 3,365. This total compares favorably with the acquisitions of recent years, but an analysis of the figures shows that only twenty-nine per cent of these items were acquired by purchase as compared with forty per cent of the accessions so acquired in 1918; the percentages of gifts rose from twenty to thirty-three and of exchanges from fourteen to nineteen. The decline in the number of purchased books and pamphlets reflects, of course, the increased prices, but it reflects also an actual decrease in the amount of money available for purchasing books. The increase in gifts and exchanges is a result of the activity of the librarian in soliciting material, as is also the increase in the number of serials, including magazines but not newspapers, currently received. This rose from 1,461 to 2,040 during the year and practically all the new items come as gifts or exchanges.

The year 1919 was marked by an increase over 1918 of about thirty-five per cent in the number of readers in the main library, and an increase of over seventy per cent in the number of books supplied to readers at the desk. Should the increase continue at this rate it will soon be necessary to employ an additional desk assistant if satisfactory service is to be maintained.

The society has recently prepared two lists of its duplicate books and pamphlets, one of which is offered on priced and the other on unpriced exchange account. These lists will be sent to

any institution having duplicate material on historical or allied subjects that can be sent in exchange for these duplicates.

A special exhibit of some of the oldest and most interesting of the single manuscripts belonging to the society was on display in the manuscript room for the first time in connection with the annual meeting of the society. Among the documents included was a commission issued by Governor William Clark of Missouri in 1816 to "Tar-mah-hah," a Sioux of the Red Wing band, who, when most of his tribe supported the British in the War of 1812, made his way to St. Louis and entered the American service as a scout. In recognition of his services and his loyalty the governor gave him this commission commending him as a chief to the Indians and to the officers and men of the army of the United States. Soiled and worn, mended and mounted and remounted on every kind of paper, even wall paper, the old commission was carried by Tamahaw and exhibited by him with unbounded pride on every possible occasion until the time of his death about 1865. It then passed into the hands of other Indians but finally, in 1884, was secured by Francis Talbot of Wabasha, who sent it to the Minnesota Historical Society. Another item in the exhibit of equal if not greater popular interest was an old account book kept by a fur-trader from 1836 to 1840 in which the articles sold are indicated by various symbols such, for example, as a rectangle for a blanket. Occasionally the trader went so far as to represent his debtors by crude drawings such as the figure of a bird for Gray Eagle and that of a four-footed creature for Red Dog. The science of numbers seems to have been known to him and his figures are carefully and accurately made. Two documents of colonial date in the exhibit were an original letter written by George Washington, August 12, 1754, dealing with events of the French and Indian War, and a commission signed by Patrick Henry in 1777. A Lincoln manuscript, one of the society's most priceless possessions, was also on display. Dated December 6, 1862, it recalls the culminating event of the Sioux massacre when thirty-eight Indians were executed at Mankato. The manuscript is the original order, in Lincoln's own hand, issued to Brigadier General Henry H. Sibley, for the execution of these Indians. It gives the name of each Indian in full and his number in the

record and is signed "Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States." Special exhibits of interesting documents are always on display on the tables in the manuscript room (209) and all persons interested are invited to come in and see them.

Six history hours for children have been held in the museum during the last three months, with talks by members of the society's staff as follows: "Pioneer Newspaper Editors," by Dorothy A. Heinemann, November 8; "A Pioneer Thanksgiving," by Bertha L. Heilbron, November 22; "A Hundred Years of Travel," by Mary B. Kimball, December 6; "Christmas in Many Lands," by Ilona B. Schmidt, December 20; "The Indian on the Warpath," by Willoughby M. Babcock Jr., January 10; and "Life in an Indian Village," also by Mr. Babcock, January 24. The attendance at these meetings sometimes runs as high as 185. Seventeen classes with a total of 387 students visited the museum during the same period.

Mr. Babcock, the curator of the museum, spent ten days in December visiting the museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the Milwaukee Public Museum for the purpose of studying their methods of handling museum problems.

GIFTS

The society has recently received from Mrs. Abigail Gardner Sharp of Arnolds Park, Lake Okoboji, Iowa, an autographed copy of the seventh revised edition of her book, *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre and Captivity of Miss Abbie Gardner.* The first edition of this book, a copy of which is in the possession of this society, was copyrighted in 1885 and the last edition, just received, in 1918. The autographed inscription reads as follows: "Presented to Minnesota Historical Society by the author in grateful remembrance of the action taken by Minnesota for my release from captivity among the Sioux Indians in 1857."

Mr. Howard S. Abbott of Minneapolis has presented to the society a collection of pamphlets, 443 in number, dealing with the legal and financial affairs of the Union Pacific and several other railroads of the country.

What it cost to live in Minnesota in 1856, as shown by the account book of Benjamin C. Baldwin, recently presented to the society by his daughter, Miss Clara Baldwin of St. Paul, is an interesting study in these days of soaring prices. Mr. Baldwin, a civil engineer, came to Minnesota in December, 1855, settling first at Lake City, where he engaged in land surveying and in preparing and recording legal papers.

To a son of one of the early fur-traders, now a man nearing ninety years of age, the Reverend Clement H. Beaulieu of Le Sueur, the society is indebted for a number of pictures and newspaper clippings and a few manuscripts concerning the old Crow Wing settlement and the Beaulieu family. His father, also Clement H., was born at Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin Territory, in 1810 and for many years was a prominent trader among the Chippewa both in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Unfortunately his papers and journals were practically all destroyed by fire in recent years. A mere fragment of these consisting of three promissory notes, two letters, and one sheet of accounts have been included. The letters were written in 1856 by Julius A. Fay, principal of a private school at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, to Dr. Charles W. Borup and give reports of the progress of Dr. Borup's son and his nephews, Charles and Clement Beaulieu. The sheet of accounts is rendered to C. H. Beaulieu for the expenses of his sons at this school. The three papers are a most interesting commentary on the efforts made by these early pioneers to give their children the advantages of an eastern education.

A list of Civil War volunteers credited to Little Falls, Morrison County, and certified by Oscar Malmros, adjutant general, August 11, 1864, is an interesting addition to our records of that war. The list was found among the papers of Miss Sadie Fuller, deceased, and was presented to the society by the Transcript Publishing Company of Little Falls, through the courtesy of E. M. La Fond, manager.

Two unique manuscripts relating to Chippewa Indians have recently been received through the courtesy of Dr. Folwell from Mr. Arthur G. Douglass of Minneapolis. One of the papers is a

receipt of nine Chippewa chiefs for flour and pork distributed at Long Lake, May 30, 1874, by Ebenezer Douglass, United States Indian agent; the other is a pictorial roll of Mille Lac Indians of "Man-zo-maunay's band at Sole's payment, October 29, 1873." The receipt also contains the mark of a chief "Monsomannay." This name recalls a spirited controversy which arose in August, 1914, when, in accordance with legislative action, a monument was erected at Fort Ridgely bearing the following inscription: "Erected by the State of Minnesota in Recognition of and to Commemorate the Loyal and Efficient Services Rendered to the State by Chief Mon-zoo-man-nee and the Chippewa Indians During the Sioux Outbreak and the Civil War." Although it was proved at that time there had been an Indian by that name among the Chippewa, just what he had done to deserve such special recognition by the state was not made clear. In the pictorial roll presented each family is represented by a grotesque figure and the members of the family are denoted by straight lines which resemble sticks. No names whatever appear on the roll, but the number of persons thus pictured totals one hundred and eight.

An interesting old panorama depicting the Sioux Outbreak of 1862 in all its horrors has been given to the society by Mr. Burt W. Eaton of Rochester. It was painted by John Stephens of Rochester in 1867, and consists of thirty-one scenes many of which were composed under the direction of persons who had gone through the massacre. The separate canvasses are fastened together so as to make a continuous series. This panorama was exhibited in various parts of the state for a time and then disappeared until Mr. Eaton discovered it in Winona in 1917.

A large pastel portrait of the late Archbishop Ireland has been presented to the society by Mrs. Julius R. Hilgedick of Saint Paul, through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. John Cannon. The portrait was made in the early nineties by the Sisters of Saint Agatha's Conservatory and represents the prelate in the prime of life.

An excellent oil painting of James M. Goodhue, editor of the *Minnesota Pioneer,* the first newspaper printed in Minnesota

Territory, has been presented to the society by his daughter, Mrs. Eve Goodhue Tarbox of Saint Paul, through the courtesy of Mrs. A. C. Heath and Miss Amelia Ames.

Two copies of a large photographic reproduction of pictures of 322 "Pioneer Residents of Mantorville," Minnesota, have been presented by Messrs. Samuel A. Lord, George B. Edgerton, and Cordenio A. Severance, of St. Paul but natives of Mantorville. The pictures were collected in connection with the home-coming celebration held there last summer.

From Mrs. Victoria A. Law of Minneapolis the society has received three interesting additions to its collection of pictures of early settlers. These are a photograph of Captain Jedediah Caleff who came to Nininger, Minnesota, from New Brunswick in the early fifties; a crayon portrait of Mrs. Susan Caleff who came to Nininger in 1856; and a pastel portrait of Mrs. Lizzie S. Bowler, the mother of the donor and widow of James M. Bowler.

Mr. Harold Dosé of St. Paul has presented framed pastel portraits of Mr. and Mrs. John B. Cook. Mr. Cook came to St. Paul in 1855 and was the founder of the St. Paul Omnibus Company.

A photograph of Winona in 1868 and a photographic reproduction of a painting of the river front at Winona in 1870 are gifts of Mr. Orrin F. Smith of Winona.

Major James C. Ferguson of St. Paul has presented several interesting relics which recall the life of the Indians on the plains and the hardships of the soldiers in the remote frontier military posts. A beaded saddle of Sioux workmanship, used at Fort Totten in 1875, beaded knife sheathes of Indian manufacture, and a pair of beaded buckskin trousers, which were made for his father, James B. Ferguson, at Fort Yates by an Indian woman, for use in the campaign of 1877, are among the specimens.

A silver Presidential medal bearing the bust of Franklin Pierce and the date 1853, which was presented to the famous Chippewa chief, Hole-in-the-Day, has been deposited with the society by

Mrs. Charles L. Spencer of Saint Paul. Mrs. Spencer has also presented a fine pair of beaded buckskin leggins, two small turtles made of deerskin and beads, and several other interesting Indian articles.

An interesting addition to the collection of specimens in the museum illustrating the religious history of the state, is the shofer or ceremonial horn which was used in the Jewish synagogue at St. Paul in 1856. The instrument is made from a ram's horn, and it was sounded on the Day of Atonement and the Jewish New Year's Day. It was presented by Mrs. Levi Herz of Paynesville, Minnesota. Mrs. Herz has also loaned for a special exhibit in the museum a collection of antique ceremonial articles connected with the Jewish Passover Eve festival.

Mrs. Albert R. Hall of St. Paul has presented an interesting collection of old china and pressed glass including several pieces of blue Staffordshire ware, also two powder horns which were carried by her grandfather, Joseph Parvin, before 1820.

On behalf of the Danish Red Cross unit of Saint Paul, Mrs. Victor Ingemann has presented to the society the silk Red Cross banner used by the organization. The unit was formed in April, 1918, and demobilized in December of the following year.

Brigadier General Arthur Johnson of Camp Custer, Michigan, has presented to the society the gas mask which was used by him while in France, and also a German gas mask in its tin container, which was picked up on the Argonne battlefield.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The 1919 meeting of the American Historical Association was held at Cleveland, December 29–31, with the recently founded American Agricultural History Society, the American Association of University Professors, the American Political Science Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the National Municipal League holding sessions at the same time and place. Two papers read at the sessions of the American Agricultural History Society should be of interest to students of Minnesota history: "Possibilities of Intensive Research in Agricultural History," by R. W. Kelsey; and "The Internal Grain Trade of the United States During the Civil War," by Louis B. Schmidt. The only representative of Minnesota on the historical programs was Norman S. B. Gras, professor of history in the University of Minnesota, who read a paper on "The Present Condition of Economic History."

The survey of "Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, 1917–1919," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December, is by John C. Parish of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

The careers of twelve men, typical of as many fields of activity in the history of the state, are being dealt with in a series of articles by E. Dudley Parsons which are appearing under the heading "Leaders of Minnesota Progress" in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Journal* beginning January 18. The life of James Shields, the Irish boy who crossed the sea in 1826 and in the course of half a century became famous as a soldier and statesman on three frontiers, is sketched in the first article; the career of Minnesota's most notable frontiersman, "Henry Sibley, Trader," is the subject of the second article.

Clays and Shales of Minnesota, by Frank F. Grout, with contributions by Edgar K. Soper, has been issued by the United States Geological Survey as number 678 of its *Bulletins* (1919.

259 p.). The volume "comprises a discussion of the distribution, origin, properties, classification, and adaptability of the clays and shales" of the state, with emphasis upon the possible economic value of the more important deposits.

The "Herman-Morris Folio" containing maps of the Herman, Barrett, Chokio, and Morris Quadrangles in Grant, Stevens, Douglas, and Pope counties, Minnesota, is a recent addition to the *Geologic Atlas of the United States* which is being compiled by the United States Geological Survey.

In an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for January 11, Elizabeth McLeod Jones discusses the history of the fur trade in Minnesota and the Northwest. The present popularity of fur garments has caused her to recall the days when furs were seen here only as pelts and "trading posts were scattered throughout this Northwestern territory." Beginning with Groseilliers and Radisson, the first traders to enter the territory of the state, the author traces step by step the growth of this industry, stopping now and then to compare modern with pioneer methods and conditions. The French, British, and American periods are all briefly discussed. The greater part of the narrative, however, is devoted to an account of the American trade since the establishment of Fort Snelling in 1819. Certain interesting phases of that trade such as reckoning values in terms of muskrat skins, the use of a pictorial code by illiterate traders in keeping accounts, and the employment of Red River carts as a means of transportation receive special attention. The careers of early traders furnish material for other substantial portions of the narrative in which, among others, the experiences of Joseph R. Brown, Henry H. Sibley, Joseph Renville, Henry M. Rice, and Pierre Bottineau are sketched. Although not always strictly accurate in her statements, Mrs. Jones has collected her material with much skill. She has not depended merely upon secondary sources but has drawn from original narratives, such as that of Penicaut, and has made extensive use of manuscripts in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, notably of the Sibley Papers. The illustrations accompanying the article include portraits of traders, two views of the Sibley house at Mendota,

and reproductions of pages from traders' account books and of the traders' license issued to Sibley in 1835.

The concluding chapter of Captain George B. Merrick's "Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi: Descriptive, Personal and Historical," is published in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, for December 6 and another chapter, previously omitted, appears in the same paper for December 20. The author has surmounted many obstacles (see *ante,* 3:234) in publishing this work, which "has fixed securely in our recorded history the story of navigation on the upper Mississippi, from its beginning in 1823, down to the present." "The Old Boats," a section of the *Post* devoted to "Valuable Contributions to River History, Supplementary to Captain Merrick's narrative," includes two articles of Minnesota interest in the issues for November 1 and January 10. The first is an account by Samuel R. Van Sant of the "Second Virginia, Built at Wabasha in 1910"; the second is an obituary by George H. Hazzard, of Captain Oscar F. Knapp, "the last of the early upper St. Croix steamboat captains," who died in St. Paul on January 1.

The biography and reminiscences of William Cairncross, "dean of boatmen," are published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 21, in an article entitled "Old Thrills of Life on River Craft Recalled by Pioneer." His adventures as a riverman from 1847 to 1856 are described at length. Of special interest to Minnesotans is that portion of the narrative which deals with his experiences after 1861 as a pioneer farmer residing near Henderson, Minnesota.

"Famous Iowa Town Sees 'Second Opportunity' in River Traffic Revival" is the title of an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 9, dealing with that period in the history of McGregor, Iowa when the town was the "greatest primary wheat market north of Dubuque" and the trade center to which the farmers of northeastern Iowa and southeastern Minnesota brought their produce. The use of steamboats on the Mississippi River for commercial purposes and the growth of railroad trans-

portation, the two elements which, in turn, caused and destroyed the prosperity of McGregor, are dealt with at some length.

The "History of the Labor Movement in Minnesota," instalments of which have appeared in the *Year Books* of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor for some years past, is continued in the 1919 number. One chapter in this issue deals with the general trend of the movement throughout the state during the decade beginning in 1885, another is confined in scope to the city of Duluth. The history and aims of the American Federation of Labor, which held its annual convention in St. Paul in 1918, are dealt with in a third chapter. Accounts of the war activities and the reconstruction program of the national organization appear in other parts of the volume. A valuable addition to the present number is a "Directory of Trade and Labor Unions" in Minnesota.

The semicentennial of an important incident in the state's history, Dr. William W. Folwell's formal induction into the presidency of the University of Minnesota, is commemorated in an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for December 21. A description of the university as its first president found it upon his arrival in Minnesota is followed by an account of his work in building up the institution and in creating a student body for it by establishing a system of free secondary schools. The article is illustrated with portraits of Dr. Folwell and a picture of the "Old Main."

Mr. Theodore C. Blegen's contribution to the history of Norwegian immigration in the December and January numbers of the *North Star* consists of the story of "Two Norse Argonauts: Ole and Ansten Nattestad," who came to America in 1837, located finally in Wisconsin, and were influential in promoting immigration. The article concludes with an analysis of Ole Nattestad's *Description of a Journey to North America,* which was published at Drammen, Norway, in 1839.

A journal of proceedings with the Indians kept by Major Robert Rogers from September 21, 1766, to July 26, 1767, while he was commandant at Michillimackinac, is published in part 2

of volume 28 of the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society (1919). It is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of fur-trading activities and Indian affairs in the whole region of the upper Great Lakes and upper Mississippi Valley during the years covered. Students of Minnesota history will be especially interested in accounts of conflicts between the Sioux and the Chippewa. The document is edited, with an introduction, by William L. Clements.

An article by the Reverend John Rothensteiner entitled "The Northeastern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati," is published in two instalments in the October and January issues of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*. Organized in 1826, the St. Louis diocese, according to the author, "comprised all of Arkansas, Missouri and Iowa and the Indian territories beyond the Missouri line" to which was added the "spiritual care" and, in 1834, the actual territory of northern Illinois. The present article is especially concerned with this later district, extended, however, in its "geographical limits so as to include the adjoining counties of Missouri, Iowa and Wisconsin." This territory "in the early days of Bishop Rosati, really formed . . . one single, distinct missionary field, separated from other parts of the diocese by miles and miles of pathless wilderness." The major part of the account is devoted to a discussion of "how the Catholic religion was carried from St. Louis" to the three frontier settlements of Galena, Prairie du Chien, and Dubuque. The article, which is based almost entirely upon the papers of Bishop Rosati and his subordinates, contains many documents in full. One of these of special interest is a letter from the Reverend Samuel Mazzuchelli, "missionary of the Northwest Territory," dated at Prairie du Chien, September 29, 1832, in which the writer discusses the state of religion and missionary activity among both Indians and whites at Green Bay, around Lake Superior, and in the upper Mississippi country.

The taking of the fourteenth census of the United States has aroused interest in the first Minnesota census taken in 1849, the original returns of which are in the manuscript collections of the Minnesota Historical Society. The methods used by enu-

merators in taking this census are described and extracts from the returns are included in articles appearing in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for January 14 and the *St. Paul Daily News* for January 18.

Articles about the first Thanksgiving day in Minnesota are published in the *St. Paul Daily News* and the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 23. The *News* article reproduces in full a letter in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, which was written December 3, 1850, by a group of clergymen, including the Reverend Edward D. Neill, to Governor Ramsey and requested him to proclaim Thursday, December 26, a day of worship and thanksgiving. It also quotes extensively from the resulting proclamation taken from the original "Executive Journal" in the society's collection of state archives. The article in the *Journal* presents Governor Ramsey's proclamation of December 6, 1850, in full, followed by a brief account of the way in which the day was celebrated. Extracts from a prophetic sermon delivered by Dr. Neill in St. Paul on that day are included in the account.

An *Authentic List of the Victims of the Indian Massacre and War 1862 to 1865,* by Marion P. Satterlee (Minneapolis, 1919. 8 p.) is the "latest revision of the list filed with the State Historical Society" in 1916 (see *ante,* 2:399). The present list has been not only verified and augmented, but it has been greatly improved by rearrangement. The total of "Citizens and Citizen-Soldiers killed or died" is placed at 411 and the total of "Enlisted Soldiers killed by Indians," at 77. Mr. Satterlee has also compiled a list of the Indians who participated in the massacre (10 p.). This includes the names of 38 "Dakota Indians Hanged at Mankato, Dec. 26, 1862"; of 177 "Imprisoned at Rock Island, Ill., in 1863"; and of 30 "Killed in the Outbreak of 1862."

The Minnesota department of the United Spanish War Veterans has recently published a *Roster* (1919. 194 p.), which contains a general "History of the Department of Minnesota, U. S. W. V.," by Hugo V. Koch, and special histories of the individual camps. The book is illustrated with portraits of officers of the organization.

The issues of the *Western Magazine* for December and January contain sketches of the careers of "Knute Nelson, Twelfth Governor of Minnesota and U. S. Senator" and of "David Marston Clough, Thirteenth Governor of Minnesota," in the section entitled "State Builders of the West."

The fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of Augsburg Seminary, a Minneapolis theological college, was celebrated by the faculty, alumni, and students of the school on November 28, 29, and 30. The history of the institution is well outlined in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for November 23. The narrative includes sketches of the life and work of the founders of the school and of the more prominent members of the faculty and alumni. The influence of the school upon the development of the educational system of Minneapolis is also pointed out. Portraits of the founders and promoters of the growth of the college accompany the article.

The semicentennial of Our Savior's Norwegian Lutheran Church of Minneapolis was celebrated during the week of December 7. An article appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for that date in which the history of the church is sketched.

Sixty surviving members of the Minneapolis Veteran Volunteer Firemen's Association attended the fifty-second annual meeting of that organization on January 24. Such events as the "organization of the St. Anthony hook and ladder company in 1857" and the first "general alarm fire" in 1860 were recalled by the pioneer guardians of the city's safety.

The tardy redemption of a one dollar bill of the "wild cat" type of currency issued in 1864 by the Minneapolis Bank, is the occasion for an interesting article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 9 dealing with the financial history of the city during the fifty-five years of the note's circulation. A portion of the narrative sketches the history of the Minneapolis Bank, which was founded by Jacob K. Sidle and Peter Wolford in 1857 and from which the First and Security National Bank of the present is a lineal descendant. Biographical notes on early officials, stockholders and directors of the bank are included in the account.

Pictures of the old bank note, which is being preserved by the First and Security National Bank as a "souvenir of pioneer banking days in Minneapolis," and of the building occupied by the "old First National bank, the successor of the Minneapolis bank," are reproduced with the article.

Pioneer banking days in Minneapolis were again recalled when the chief clerk of the First and Security National Bank discovered the ledger of the Sidle and Wolford Company in a basement vault. The book, in which entries were first made in April, 1861, is described in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for November 30. It contains the "entire records of the old bank, including individual accounts"; it reveals "an itemized expense account of early Minneapolis men"; and it discloses the comparatively small scale on which business was transacted at the time. The description is accompanied by a photograph of the page of the ledger containing the expense account of the bank for the year 1861.

"When the 'Phone was Young in Minneapolis" is the title of an interesting article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 11. The growth of the present telephone system is "so closely related with the whole city's advancement that the men who help[ed] build the early lines have compiled a history of the work." Herein the inconveniences cheerfully tolerated by telephone subscribers in the years following 1877, when the first instrument was installed by Richard H. Hankinson, are dwelt upon. Of greater value is the portion of the narrative dealing with the organization of the Northwestern Telephone Company in 1878 and with the personnel of the first officers of the company, of the first general staff, and of the first ten subscribers. The later experiences of some of the individuals "who installed the switchboards, built the lines, and kept the system going" as members of that first staff are also discussed. Portraits of Mr. Hankinson and some of his coworkers and a picture of the old Minneapolis City Hall, where the city's first telephone exchange was located, illustrate the article.

Extracts from a paper recently prepared by Mrs. Sophie Krueger of Minneapolis describing personal incidents in the early

days of the city's transportation system are published in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 7. Herein the humble origin of what has become an established institution is discussed and the discomfort endured by passengers on the horse cars of 1879 is contrasted with the ease enjoyed by travelers on the comparatively luxurious electric cars of the present.

Some information about the use of school buildings in Minneapolis for singing schools and other community affairs half a century ago, derived from the records of the school board, is contained in an interview with Dr. Charles M. Jordan, superintendent emeritus of the Minneapolis schools, in the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 7. Dr. Jordan considers the community singing which has been so popular recently to be merely "a revival of an old custom."

The days when the sport of horse racing was in its prime are recalled in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 23, entitled "Minneapolis Horsemen Get Out Earmuffs for Ice Sport but Sigh for Old Track Days." The article is illustrated with a portrait of Colonel William S. King and a photograph showing a crowd watching a race at one of his fairs.

The history of the bronze figure representing the Angel Gabriel which was brought to St. Anthony in 1857 by James M. Winslow and mounted on the flagstaff of his hotel, the Winslow House, and which is now on the flagstaff of the Minneapolis Exposition Building is sketched in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 7.

The services conducted by the Christ Lutheran Church of St. Paul on December 7 commemorated two important events in its history, the incorporation of the congregation fifty years ago and the dedication of the present church building four years ago.

Articles on the early history of St. Paul are appearing from time to time in the magazine section accompanying the Sunday issue of the *St. Paul Daily News*. That for December 7 contains an account of the beginnings of real estate advertising in Minnesota under the title "Col. Hewitt, Pioneer St. Paul Booster." The reminiscent narratives of "St. Paul Before This," contributed

weekly by Benjamin Backnumber, also appear in the magazine section. The story of the "Ups and Downs of the St. Paul Globe" is the subject of the number for November 30. The one for December 7 entitled "That Indian 'Battle' in Our Streets," includes a history of the old Pioneer Building, where the three Sioux who were attacked by eighteen Chippewa on April 9, 1853, took refuge. The Reverend Edward D. Neill's lifelong activities in promoting the welfare of Minnesota; the career of Louis E. Fisher, a pioneer St. Paul editor; and the belligerent character of Aaron Goodrich, "Minnesota's First Chief Justice," are discussed in the numbers of this series for December 21, 28, and January 4, respectively.

The history of a representatitve St. Paul wholesale concern is outlined in *65 Years of Service* (St. Paul, 1919. 34 p.), a pamphlet published by Foley Brothers' Grocery Company for the purpose of presenting to their employees a brief sketch of the organization from its beginning. The narrative opens with a sketch of the city of St. Paul as it appeared in 1855, the year in which the firm was founded as the "unpretentious general merchandise establishment of Temple and Beaupre." The changes since that time in the scope of the stock handled by the concern, in the methods used in reaching its trade and delivering its goods, and in the location and size of its buildings, as set forth in the pamphlet, are typical of the industrial development of the city as a whole. Changes in the personnel of members and employees of the firm are also noted in the narrative. The pamphlet is attractively illustrated with portraits of the men who are responsible for the present prosperity of the business and with reproductions of pages from the early accounts of the concern.

Some of the successive changes on the staff of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* during the past forty years are noted and a few outstanding personalities and careers are sketched in an article reminiscent of the early days of that paper written by John Talman, newspaper librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society, and published in the *St. Paul Dispatch and St. Paul Pioneer Press American* for January. The author is loud in his praises

of Frank Moore, for many years "foreman of the Pioneer Press newsroom."

The origin of the names of St. Paul streets, parks, playgrounds, and other public places is discussed in an article in the *St. Paul Daily News* for December 14.

When Blue Earth County Was Young, by George W. Allyn, published as a reprint from the *Madison Lake Times* (1919. 40 p.), is a reminiscent narrative of the personal experiences of the author and his associates in the northeastern portion of that county. The account opens in 1855 when the author and his parents with four other families settled in the Plum Valley near the border line between Blue Earth and Waseca counties. This little group of pioneers was the nucleus of the town of Madison Lake. Their experiences, surroundings, means of communication, the conditions of their life, and their relations with the Indians before and during the Sioux massacre, are subjects dealt with at length. Considerable information about the enonomic development of the region is included in the account. Emphasis is placed upon the growth of the industry in which the author was engaged, the cordwood business; and perhaps the most valuable portion of the volume deals with the effect of the coming of the railroads upon this industry (pp. 10–14).

The purchase of the *Mankato Review* by the *Mankato Free Press* is the occasion for the publication of a history of the newspapers of Mankato in the weekly issue of the former paper for November 11, of the latter for November 14, and the daily issues of both for November 8. The predominating subject of the article is the career of John C. Wise Sr., who, in 1858, founded the *Mankato Record,* one of the two papers which were later merged to form the *Free Press,* and, in 1869, established the *Review.* In the *Free Press* the article is accompanied by portraits of Mr. Wise and his sons, who were associated with him and who continued the publication of the *Review* to the present; in the *Review* the illustrations consist of portraits of Mr. Wise and of some of the proprietors and editors of the *Free Press.*

"The Kensington Rune Stone, Is It the Oldest Native Document of American History?" by Hjalmar R. Holand, in the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* is a presentation of the case for the authenticity of the inscription on the stone by its foremost advocate. The principal contribution of the article is contained in Mr. Holand's interpretation of the expression "day's journey," as used in the inscription, to mean a "recognized unit of distance," based on the usual rate of progress of a sailing vessel along the shore, that is, about eighty miles.

Other articles in the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* are: "A Forgotten Trail," by James H. McManus, in which an attempt is made to trace the route of a party which included the Reverend Alfred Brunson and some English miners on an overland trip from Prairie du Chien to Lake Superior in 1842; "Portage, the Break in a Historic Waterway," by W. A. Titus ("Historic Spots in Wisconsin" series), which is accompanied by two pictures of Fort Winnebago; and chapter 4 of "The Story of Wisconsin, 1634–1848," by Louise P. Kellogg, which deals with "Territorial Foundations and Developments." An excellent picture of Mayzhuckegeshig, a Chippewa chief who died at Beaulieu, Minnesota, August 29, 1919, forms the frontispiece of this issue, and a sketch of his career is presented in the section devoted to a "Survey of Historical Activities" (p. 263).

"The Nonpartisan League in North Dakota; The Story of America's Most Remarkable Farmers' Political Movement," is the title of an article by Rasmus B. Saby of Cornell University in the *North Star* for January. The author attempts to give an objective treatment of this highly controversial subject.

An historical anniversary of marked interest will be celebrated in western Canada on May 2 by the Hudson's Bay Company. On this date two hundred and fifty years ago, Charles II issued a charter founding the company and granting to it an enormous tract of land. This great organization continues to thrive despite its age; it is still a powerful factor in the commercial life of Canada and many of its early forts and trading posts are now

prosperous municipalities. Four of these, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Calgary, and Edmonton, have been chosen as the principal cities for the celebration of next May.

A hitherto unpublished document written about 1763 by an unknown author and entitled "Memoire sur la partie occidentale du Canada, depuis Michillimakinac jusqu'au fleuve du Mississipi," appears in the January and February numbers of *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, published by La Societé des Études Historiques at Beauceville, Quebec. The document consists of descriptions of the two canoe routes most frequently used by French traders in making the trip from Mackinac and the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River—that by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and that by way of the Chicago and Illinois rivers.

The *Annual Report* of the Thunder Bay Historical Society for 1919 (Fort William, Ontario. 29 p.) contains a paper on "The Founding of Fort William Mission and the Jesuit Missionaries," by Eugenie Robin, and an interesting study of "The Ojibway Indian," by P. H. Godsell. It is interesting to note that this is the tenth report published by this society, which has its home on the northern shore of Lake Superior only a short distance from the international boundary.

War History Activities

Through an arrangement with the Soldiers' Bonus Board, already noted, the Minnesota War Records Commission has received over eighty thousand service records of Minnesota soldiers, sailors, and marines. Similar records, on special forms, have been secured directly from large numbers of Y. M. C. A. secretaries, Red Cross nurses, and other army welfare workers. In many cases these summary records are accompanied by illustrative and documentary material which adds greatly to their value as personal records.

A number of important additions have been made to the state collection of reports and narratives, in manuscript form, covering the activities of leading state and local war agencies. Among

these may be noted a complete set of concise statements relating to the personnel and activities of the state and county branches of the food administration; the final report of the federal fuel administrator for Minnesota; reports on the war activities of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association; an account of the recruiting of engineers in St. Paul; and a "Record of the War and Civil Service of the Members of the Minnesota Society of the Sons of the Revolution," compiled by Harry T. Drake of St. Paul.

Although the official records of most branches of federal agencies and national organizations engaged in war work in Minnesota have either been sent to Washington or retained by the local branches under orders from national headquarters, the Minnesota War Records Commission has been successful in acquiring custody of files of official correspondence and papers of a number of important war agencies. The director of the United States Employment Service in Minnesota has turned over to the commission for safe-keeping the original files of the branch offices of the service at Bemidji, St. Cloud, Mankato, and Albert Lea. These records consist of applications for employment, vocational cards, employers' requisitions, official orders, daily reports, and correspondence. From the department of home economics of the state agricultural college, which was closely associated with the food administration and other agencies in the campaign for food conservation, the commission has received complete files of official correspondence, reports, and records of experiments. The correspondence conducted in connection with the state management of the United War Work Campaign, and the 1918 official file of the Minnesota branch of the Y. M. C. A. War Council are other notable acquisitions. Newly acquired records of strictly local agencies include the correspondence and papers of the Americanization Committee, an auxiliary of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, and a roster and records of the recruiting, in Minneapolis, of the famous "Roosevelt regiment."

The commission has received from individuals a number of noteworthy collections of printed, manuscript, and graphic

material which bears upon the various war activities in which the several donors participated. Such collections have been contributed by Sergeant Richard S. Stone, Minneapolis, who was engaged in army personnel work at Camp Grant; Hugo V. Koch, St. Paul, former director of the United States Employment Service in Minnesota; Donald R. Cotton, St. Paul, regional advisor for the United States War Industries Board and leader in various local war activities; Lieutenant James P. Dudley, St. Paul, former commanding officer of Company G, 350th Infantry, 88th Division, which saw service in France; George W. McCree, St. Paul, civilian aide, in the recruiting of railway engineers, to the adjutant general of the United States Army; and Mrs. Edward Feldhauser, St. Paul, regent of the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and chairman of the woman's division of the Patriotic League of St. Paul.

County committees of the war records commission are working along the lines of up-to-date and detailed suggestions contained in the commission's *Bulletin,* no. 3 (mimeographed) which was issued in January under the title *County War History Prospectus and Guide to the Collection of Material* (27 p.). This bulletin contains a tentative outline for a county war history, general and specific instructions for the collection and preservation of material, a series of model questionnaires for gathering data, and definite suggestions about organizing and financing county war records committees. Though intended primarily as a guide to the collection of material, the bulletin may also be of use to such county committees or other agencies as are preparing county war histories for publication.

A detailed report of the work of the Rice County War Records Committee shows that organization to have been unusually successful in the building up of a county collection of service records, photographs, draft records, reports of war organizations, and other material for a county war history. Recent appropriations for the work of similar county committees include five thousand dollars granted to the Ramsey County committee by the city of St. Paul and two hundred dollars set aside for the Kandiyohi County committee by the county board. The Kandiyohi and

Le Sueur committees, among others already noted, plan to publish county war histories in book form.

Minnesota had the honor of entertaining the first national convention of the American Legion, which was held at Minneapolis, November 10, 11, and 12, 1919. An "unofficial summary" of *Committee Reports and Resolutions* adopted on that occasion has been issued in handbook form (67 p.) for immediate use pending the publication of an official report of the proceedings. To those interested in the history of state and national participation in the World War, it is encouraging to note that the national body of the Legion, like its Minnesota branch, has adopted as one of its fundamental aims the perpetuation of legionaries' memories of life in the service. In fulfillment of this aim, the national headquarters of the Legion has since evolved a plan of state organization including state historians, who, it is planned, in addition to the usual duties of such officers, will serve as connecting links between the organization and the state historical societies or commissions engaged in the collection of material relating to state and local war history.

The following recent additions have been made to the state collection of souvenir histories of military units including Minnesotans: *338th U. S. Field Artillery: Our Book of Memories,* Corporal Jerome R. Forbes of Nebraska, editor (148 p.); *Company History, "D", 55th Engineers, American Expeditionary Forces,* by William L. Peterson of Iowa assisted by Ralph S. Underwood of Minneapolis (72 p.); *History of the 805th Pioneer Infantry* [colored], *American Expeditionary Forces,* by Major Paul S. Bliss of St. Paul (223 p.); and a history in mimeographed form of "Company 'B', 328th Infantry, 82nd Division, U. S. Army," by Lieutenant Charles M. Day of Alabama (24 p.). The *History of the 805th Pioneer Infantry,* in all respects admirably suited to its purpose, contains an exceptionally varied and interesting series of photographic reproductions illustrative of the experiences of the American soldier overseas.

In a pamphlet entitled *A Y. M. C. A. Secretary in Italy During Wartime* (25 p.), Paul J. Thompson of Minneapolis gives an

interesting account of his own experiences and impressions during a year's active service as an army welfare worker overseas. In the latter part of his stay in Italy, Mr. Thompson was placed in charge of the work of arranging entertainments for the Italian soldiers in hospitals, barracks, and aviation camps in and near Rome. The account of this and of other aspects of the work of the Y. M. C. A. in Italy, though published primarily for distribution among the author's friends, is of general interest especially as a contribution to the history of Minnesota's participation in the war. Since that history, particularly as it concerns activities carried on outside the state, will be for the most part a record of the services of individuals, other Minnesotans who were in active war service would do well to follow Mr. Thompson's example, at least to the extent of making their experiences a matter of permanent record.

"Logging with the A. E. F." is the subject of an article which begins in the December number of *The North Woods,* monthly bulletin of the Minnesota Forestry Association and the Minnesota Forest Service. The author of the article, Shirley C. Brayton, a graduate student at the University of Minnesota, who served with the Twentieth Engineers, here gives a very interesting and informing account of that portion of the operations of the regiment which centered at the village of Chatinois in Loraine. Of Minnesota men in the companies stationed there, special mention is made of "Sergeant Hugh Martin, an old time Minnesota lumber jack from Grand Rapids." The article will conclude in the February number.

Though not primarily a war record, the *Report* of the president of the University of Minnesota for the year 1918–19 (*Bulletins,* vol. 22, no. 52) contains much information about the ways in which the university as an institution participated in and was effected by the war-time activities and conditions of the period covered. In the announcements of faculty resignations and leaves of absence, some indication is given of the individual services of men who left the university to engage in war work.

Contributions of men to the winning of the war made by one of Minnesota's military schools are recorded in a pamphlet

entitled, *War Service Record of Shattuck Men* (31 p.), compiled by Harry E. Whitney, an instructor at the Shattuck School, Faribault. The record comprises rosters and brief statements of service of Shattuck men who lost their lives in the service, those who suffered casualties, those who were decorated or cited in orders, all those who were in the service, those engaged in government or army welfare work, those participating in civilian war activities at home, and those whose positions or services were for one reason or another distingushed. The main roster of service men is arranged according to the classes to which the men belonged when at Shattuck. It is interesting to note that of the 616 Shattuck men with the colors, 336 were commissioned officers.

The *Montevideo News* has published a county war history entitled *With the Colors from Chippewa County, 1917, 1918, 1919* (208 p.). The volume is comparable in most respects to the war histories of Goodhue, Waseca, and Watonwan counties which were reviewed in the November number of the BULLETIN. It differs somewhat on the pictorial side in its variations of the conventional group picture with respect to setting and pose and in its relatively large number of photographic illustrations in which activities and conditions, rather than persons, are the prominent features.

The October number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the University of North Dakota is devoted to a series of articles by competent local authorities on the subject of North Dakota's contribution to the winning of the war. Under such titles as "North Dakota's Contribution of Men," "The Work of the Welfare Organizations," "The Work of the Red Cross," and "Secondary War Activities," are summed up all of the more important of that state's war services. The January number of the same periodical contains a "Service List of the University of North Dakota" giving the names and details of service of members of the university faculty, alumni, former students, undergraduates, members of the Students' Army Training Corps, and students of the university high school. The main roster is preceded by photo-

graphs and biographical sketches of the university men who lost their lives in the service.

The North Dakota branch of the American Legion in January commenced the publication, at Bismarck, of an official organ known as *The Legionaire* which appears on the first and fifteenth of every month.

Recent pamphlets and bulletins issued by agencies in other states similar to the Minnesota War Records Commission are: *The Collection and Preservation of County War Records,* by the war records section of the Illinois State Historical Library (10 p.) ; *Michigan War Records,* by the Michigan Historical Commission as number 10 of its *Bulletins* (30 p.) ; and *Pennsylvania's Participation in the World War,* by the Pennsylvania War History Commission (22 p.). Tentative outlines for state or county war histories appear in all and are the principal features of the Michigan and Pennsylvania bulletins. In Virginia the state war records agency issues a monthly periodical in newspaper form under the title, *War History Commission News Letter.*

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RECRUITING ENGINEERS FOR THE WORLD WAR IN MINNESOTA[1]

On May 21, 1917, Mr. George T. Slade, vice president of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company called me in to assist Captain Samuel S. Magoffin of St. Paul, who had received a commission and was delegated to organize as many men as he could procure for the Sixteenth United States Engineers, which was and is a construction regiment. Captain Magoffin is a bright young fellow, who is now lieutenant colonel of his regiment. He had had large contracts for railroad building in Canada and was well qualified to "carry on" the work given to him. The headquarters of the Sixteenth Engineers was in Detroit, Michigan and we made our reports to Colonel Harry Burgess. The work was difficult at first because no one seemed to know exactly what was wanted. Captain Magoffin thought that the only men we required were men who were accustomed to use a "number-two" shovel; but most of the young red-blooded fellows who came to the office at first were lawyers, teachers, or university students who had never handled a shovel, but were lively up-on-their-toes good American young men willing and able to learn how to overcome the intricacies of a spike maul, a cross cut saw, a spike bar, and a good "number-two." We soon commenced to accept men of

[1] This narrative of personal experiences was written by Mr. George W. McCree shortly after the armistice brought the World War to a close, for the purpose of supplying his children with a record of the part which he played in that conflict. When, somewhat later, his files of war papers, consisting principally of official correspondence and sample induction blanks, were turned over to the Minnesota War Records Commission, a copy of the article was included. This resulted in its being brought to the attention of the superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, and at his request the author read the paper at the stated meeting of the exectuive council of the society on October 13, 1919.

Mr. McCree was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, February 10, 1858. He received his elementary education in the day schools and his secondary

this type. In this regiment we required a certain number of locomotive engineers and firemen for train work, conductors and trainmen for the same work, machinists, boiler makers, car repairers, and men accustomed to running repairs on locomotives and cars. Bridge builders, concrete mixers, form builders, blacksmiths, stenographers, timekeepers, material clerks, surveyors, draftsmen, instrument men, and all other classes of men needed to build and maintain a railroad were also required.

The procedure we followed was this: we asked the applicant what he was accustomed to do and if he was a tradesman we accepted him at once. If the young fellow was an engineering student we told him what the work would be; what a great asset it would be for him to have a part in the lightning moves that would take place in France where the very best minds in the engineering world would be centered; and that, if he would not lose sight of the fact that he should finish his educational course when he returned, then this was the department of the army where he could perform most closely to one hundred per cent of efficient work.

education in the night schools of his native city, and later, while in northern England, attended extension courses conducted by Cambridge University. He came to America in 1886, and, after spending a year in various parts of Canada, settled in St. Paul, where he has since made his home. During the first nine years of his residence in St. Paul he was employed by the Great Northern Railroad Company as a machinist; afterwards he served as state boiler inspector under Governor David M. Clough; and, in 1900, when the government lock and dam was constructed in the Mississippi River above the Marshall Avenue Bridge, under the direction of Major Frederic V. Abbot and Captain Archibald O. Powell (see *post*, p. 358), Mr. McCree was placed in charge of the steam machinery used in the enterprise. He has since been employed by the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, first as machinist, then as foreman, and finally as mechanical inspector. To Mr. McCree belongs the credit for the first establishment in St. Paul of night schools similar to those he attended in Scotland, for upon his suggestion George N. Carman, principal of the St. Paul High School in the early nineties, opened evening classes in that school. The present article is a sufficient account of his service in the World War, a service for which he was peculiarly adapted by long years of engineering experience.—*Ed.*

When we were satisfied that a man could be used, he was sent to Lieutenant Colonel Edward H. Schultz, the head of the United States Corps of Engineers in Minnesota, whose office was in the Federal Building, St. Paul. Then the applicant was put through a thorough physical examination according to government regulations. If he passed, his joy knew no bounds; if rejected, he was disconsolate. It was truly pathetic to see the anxiety displayed by some of the young fellows who were turned down because of some physical defect. I know of a great number who went into hospitals and underwent operations for hernia, hammertoes, and other ailments which would have kept them out of the army.

Before Captain Magoffin got the regiment completed I received word from Major General William M. Black, the chief of engineers, to proceed to help to enlist another construction regiment, the Seventeenth Engineers, mobilizing at Atlanta, Georgia. Shortly after this time the captain went to join his regiment and I was left to my own resources. Very soon I got word from Washington to recruit for the Twentieth Engineers, a forestry regiment, which included all classes of men accustomed to work in the woods—men with sawmill experience, blacksmiths, machinists, gas engine men, narrow guage railroad builders, et cetera. This regiment is supposed to have been the largest regiment ever formed in any country. Its members were to go into the forests in southern France and get out bridge timbers, ties, poles, and lumber of all sizes and grades for building purposes. I got a splendid lot of fellows for this unit—young men from Stillwater, Thief River Falls, International Falls, Bemidji, and Crookston in Minnesota, and from Eau Claire, River Falls, and other lumbering centers in Wisconsin. Whenever I saw a long, sinewy, bashful fellow come into the office, I knew he had swung an axe and that he was for the Twentieth Engineers. This regiment was mobilized at American University, in the city of Washington. During one of my visits to the capital, a young pri-

vate accosted me on the street and asked me if I was McCree from St. Paul. He was one of the men from Thief River Falls. The following day I rode out to the camp and saw quite a number of the boys who had gone through the office.

Before August 12, when the men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one had to register for the selective draft, I could enlist all men from eighteen to forty-five years of age, and even to December 20, 1917, I could pass vocationally upon men between the minimum and maximum ages and send them to a United States Army recruiting station either in the Baltimore Block in St. Paul or in the Federal Building in Minneapolis, where they received their preliminary physical examination. If they passed this they were then sent on to Fort Snelling for their final physical examination. The quartermaster department at the fort would then swear the successful applicants into the army and give them transportation to the camps where the regiments, previously designated by me as the ones into which they should be admitted, were stationed.

The chief recruiting officer for Minnesota was Major John D. Yost. His headquarters were in Minneapolis, and I received all the assistance from him that it was possible for him to give. Lieutenant S. Stephen Da Costa, his assistant, was a very live wire and consumed with a desire to get to France, but because of a physical defect, contracted while in active service in the Philippines, he was unable to get his wish. My association with these gentlemen was of the happiest kind, and it is one of the pleasures of my life to have met them in this work.

Sometime in November, 1917, General Crowder's office issued an order that after twelve o'clock, December 20, no man of draft age, twenty-one to thirty-one, could get into the army except by induction. Then my busy time began, because so many men had the erroneous idea that being drafted cast a reflection upon their patriotism and were determined to

enlist voluntarily. The government even encouraged the idea that it was more honorable to enlist voluntarily than to be inducted, for those who enlisted were allowed to wear buttons on their coat collars with the letters "U. S.," while the buttons worn by drafted men had two additional letters, "N. A.," meaning National Army. Ultimately, however, the United States had only one army, the United States Army, while before there had been the United States Regular Army, the United States National Army, and the National Guard. After I was in the game for a short while I found that all such distinctions were unfair. Indeed thousands of men were just as patriotic winning the war on this side of the Atlantic as in France. At no time was the war three thousand miles away; it was right at our own door. Many men with tears in their eyes have pleaded with me to get them into the army only to be refused because the operating branch of the army in France had more men to perform its work than the railroads in this country had to do the necessary work here. It was not everyone who understood conditions properly. After the war industries board had said which firms could receive raw and finished material for their work, after the fuel administration had decided who could get fuel, and in fact every man, woman, and child had been put under government control in some form, then the men who were performing transportation duties at home, from the call boys, engine wipers, and the men knocking the fires, upwards through the mechanics and the men operating the trains to the federal managers, were doing work as patriotic as that of any man in France. I tried every means in my power to get a distinctive badge for all railroad men to wear, showing that they were performing "Win the War" work right here and were not slackers. I have known many engineers, firemen, and trainmen who were cut to the quick by being called slackers when they were on the street between runs. I know one young railroad official in St. Paul occupying a very onerous

position, who pleaded with his managers that he might be released so that he could go into the service, because he said he was ashamed and humiliated when he entered his clubs and heard his elderly friends naturally telling with great pride about the valorous deeds of their sons. Yet this man was personally responsible for the proper handling of thousands of soldiers.

On December 18 I reached my high-water mark up to that time: that day I passed upon eighty-two men. I became so nervous at that time I could hardly sleep at night. Some of the men were easily placed, because I have been associated with railway men so long that I can tell one almost as soon as I see him. I would merely ask to see such a man's brotherhood card and then tell the stenographer what regiment to put him into. Some of the men coming before me at that time were very amusing. I remember one man came in who evidently was a farmer. I said, "Well young man what are you?" He said he was an engineer. I asked him what kind of an engineer and he replied, "Well I'm an engineer." I then asked him, "Are you a civil?" He said "What?" Again I asked him if he was a civil and then he replied, "Oh! Yes I'm civil." So then I asked him if he was a civil engineer, a mining engineer, a hydraulic engineer, an electrical engineer, a consulting engineer, a stationary engineer, a locomotive engineer or if the fact of the matter was that the only engineering that he had done was to handle a thirty horse power threshing engine. When he got over his surprise at the many kinds of engineers I mentioned he said that a twenty-five horse power traction engine was the heaviest he had handled. I put him into the Twenty-third Regiment, a road-building unit, because nearly all farm boys know something about road building and again experience of this kind makes them better citizens when they leave the army.

The following telegram from Major E. N. Sanctuary in Washington gives an idea of the diversified types of men required.

Have urgent call for following: fifty blacksmiths, sixteen men experienced with small boats, forty radio operators, one hundred telegraph operators, twenty cable splicers, two hundred competent truck or auto chauffeurs, twenty map makers, ten topographical draftsmen, one hundred electricians of all kinds, thirty-five marine enginemen, twenty-five high voltage linemen, thirty longshoremen, fifty band musicians, ten stationary engine oilers, twenty structural steel workers, ten switchboard erectors, two telephone wire chiefs, five telephone wiremen. These are in addition to list already sent you. All men for induction or enlistment as privates. Designate whether in or out of draft when sending names. Detailed list of all needs following by letter.

At this point I want to pay the highest tribute I can to the newspapers of St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth. They gave me all the space that was necessary to bring the government's needs before their readers. The Associated Press also did valiant work and sent my stuff everywhere, with the result that I had induction papers sent to all the western states from the Canadian line to Mexico. I know it is on the point of the reader's tongue to ask how I could examine a man in Arizona to put him in the army. Well I had a little form mimeographed asking what branch of railway service a man was in, how long he had been in such service, what roads he had worked on, and so forth; and from his answers I figured where he should go. Of course, no doubt, lots of times I was fooled; but the fellows found that they had fooled themselves, not me, when they went to the regiments to which I sent them on the strength of their statements and could not perform the necessary work. In such cases they were assigned to "K. P." duty or were transferred to infantry regiments, so the laugh was finally on them and not on me.

That puts me in mind of a big strapping fellow who came into the office one morning about seven o'clock—at that time I used to get to the office about five o'clock, never later than six. I asked him to come back at nine, as I was busy with my mail. I asked his trade and he said he was a railway black-

smith, and just as he was going out of the door he added, "I am also a machinist." Now in all my experience at the machinist trade I have never seen a man who has these two trades. When he came in about ten o'clock I said, "Well! you're the blacksmith. Have you been accustomed to a big fire or a small one?" He said he was familiar with all classes of work. I asked him if he could shorten an eccentric blade by shrinking. I saw he did not know what I was talking about. I then asked him if he could weld a bar, and quite blithely he said he could. I asked him if he could weld a drawbar and he answered me again, "Yes," but in such a way that I knew he had never done so. I then asked him the size of a drawbar and he had no idea about it. I then said, "You also said you are a machinist," and he answered that he was a first class locomotive machinist, having worked for the "Soo" Railway Company. I asked him to tell me in a few words how he would set the valves on a locomotive. He answered that he would first set up the balls of the governor. I then asked him if he had ever seen governor balls on a locomotive and he answered, "Oh! damn it; there's no use trying to fool you," and out he went.

While the object of the government was to get men into the different units who were familiar with the work that the regiment had to perform, a great number of fellows thought the army a fine place to learn to be locomotive engineers, blacksmiths, or machinists. Instead of going into the army and performing one hundred per cent service at what they could do properly, they wanted the government to teach them trades. In time of the stress of war men have to do what they are fit to do, not what they want to do.

Very many high class men who were authorities in their lines went into the service as privates. I had one man who gave up a position which paid him upwards of three hundred dollars a month to go into the Twenty-eighth Engineers, a quarry regiment, for the munificent sum of thirty dollars a month. He was thirty-five years of age and at the time there

was not the least idea of extending the draft to include that age. But he had to go; it was in his blood, so he went. I also enlisted a building contractor from Minneapolis who had been a building superintendent on the university buildings. He was married and had five or six children, so I advised him to stay on this side. He had made up his mind to enlist, however, and he is now in France.

Here I am going to sandwich in a story of the yellowest cur in Minnesota. He received through me induction papers to enter the Twentieth Engineers, a forestry unit. Soon thereafter the Tuscania was torpedoed off the coast of Ireland. The reader will remember that a large number of members of the Twentieth were aboard that vessel and it was reported that quite a number of St. Paul boys were drowned. On the Saturday morning when the news came here, at about nine o'clock this cowardly fellow came in to ask me if the papers which he had were binding on him. At once I thought that this fellow wished to back out, and sure enough that was his object. He said he had no objection to fighting, but he was not going to be drowned like a rat while going across. Then I opened up on him. I called him everything that I could think of, and even at that his cowardly action wasn't properly labeled. The thing that nettled me was that only he and I were in my office and I wanted all St. Paul to know that here was the only cowardly man in the whole state. When he went out to go to the street through our main office, I followed him and there I got a gallery and I started in on him again and gave him all I had. He came back threateningly asking me if I was talking about him. I told him the greatest satisfaction I had was the fact that there was not another man in the city of St. Paul to whom my language would apply except himself. When I called him a "yellow cowardly cur" I told him I insulted the dog in making the comparison. I also told him that instead of withdrawing from the regiment because of that accident, the red-blooded fellows would crowd in to enlist. Now here is the other part of the sandwich. Within ten

minutes after the coward left, a young man came in asking if he could join the Twentieth Engineers. I asked him why he wanted to join. He answered that someone had to replace the poor fellows who had gone down. I told him about the action of the previous fellow and assured him that he was a tonic to my soul. That Saturday I got upwards of twenty men for this regiment.

About that time—I believe it was the same Saturday afternoon—a lady with four children (I think she borrowed some of them) came into my office and handed me a comfort kit. She said her husband had enlisted through my office but she would not allow him to go so I could keep my comfort kit.

Speaking of comfort kits, I gave away many thousands of them and the boys were delighted with them. The continuous requests I made at Red Cross headquarters, where the comfort kits were made up, brought immediate action. Mrs. Archibald MacLaren and Mrs. Ernest Leighton were continually looking out that I had the proper supply. Quite a number of ladies followed the example of Mrs. William Dean and knitted socks for "Mr. McCree's boys." I told the boys when they got their kits that the Red Cross women worked without any remuneration except the thought that the load might be lightened a little in France and that the boys would know that the women on this side were thinking, working, and praying for them "over there." A great many of the boys wrote to me from the different camps expressing their appreciation of the good and necessary things contained in the kit. I sent most of the notes to Mrs. MacLaren.

I wonder if it is necessary here for me to pay a tribute to the Red Cross. I have not the ability, for to praise it properly would call for an epic poem written by no less a master than Tennyson. Everyone who had anything to do with the Red Cross women admired them; the women who sewed, the women who planned, the women who knitted, and the women who worked on surgical dressings. Some of them sometimes

had sore hearts and many a mother wondered if the very bandage she folded with such care might not perhaps bind up the wound of her own son. Frequently I have taken visitors up to the second floor of the Railroad Building to see the department presided over by Miss Helen Bunn. It was here that the dressings were received, pressed into bundles, packed, and made ready for shipment. It appeared to me that this was work more fit for some two hundred pound man; nevertheless Miss Bunn and her slips of girls were doing it. I know that this has nothing to do with enlisting, but I was brought into very close contact with the work of the women, and I am sure that their work will never be sufficiently understood or appreciated. Night work was performed in our building by the men and women of our offices, from the Mississippi Street round house and car yards, from the Como shops, and from all our freight offices. The most democratic feeling prevailed; Mrs. Hannaford, Mrs. Slade, and Mrs. Woodworth, the wives of our executive officers, fraternized with women who were patriotically wiping engines and working as helpers in our stores department during the day.

The part played by woman during the war will never be measured; the cruel uncertainty was most heart-rending for her. When reports of great victories came to us and our boys had been in the fray, we men clapped each other on the back and hurrahed, but the mothers and wives of the boys could only wonder, and wonder, and wonder. A very distressing case came up in the office. A young man well-fitted to go into the Thirty-sixth Engineers came to me to enlist; among other questions I asked him whom he supported. He told me his mother and invalid father. I advised him to stay at home, telling him that the pool halls were filled with young fellows who could be much more easily spared than he could, that he had a duty to perform to the good old U. S. A. by supporting his father and mother; but he would not listen to me, so I gave him the necessary papers to go and be examined.

After a time he came back saying that he had been rejected. I was really glad, and he was glad that he had made the effort. I gave him a letter stating the facts, so that no one could charge him with being a slacker. After a few months the local draft board sent for him, and because of the laxity of the draft physical requirements compared with the rigidity of the regular army requirements, he was accepted and sent into an infantry regiment, whereas he would have been a great asset to the engineering unit into which I desired to put him. On November 13, 1918, his mother came to see me, happy in the prospect of soon seeing her boy and of being able to give up her outside work in a laundry, with which she helped to provide for her sick husband. I was so pleased for her sake that the armistice was signed. Two days later she came into the office, dressed in partial mourning, to inform me that she had just got word that her son had been killed in action on October 22. Her son has gone to his everlasting reward as one of those who did not consider his life too precious to be sacrificed on the altar for our freedom and security, but his poor mother works every day supporting her husband, while everything she sees at home reminds her of her dead son.

One day a man about forty years of age came in and very vociferously said, "I want to enlist." At once I said to myself, "Here's some family trouble." I asked him why he was so anxious to enlist; he said he had some trouble at home about religious matters, that his wife was a member of the Salvation Army, that when he came home his wife was out on the street beating a drum, his supper was not made, and his children were out among the neighbors. I advised him to see his wife and talk things over with her, but he was obdurate, and nothing would do but he would enlist. He had been in the service before, and I told him it was necessary for him to have his discharge papers. This stumped him because the papers were at home and he had said he would never darken the door again. So I told him that he had better climb

through the window because it was absolutely necessary for him to get his papers. Well he got them and joined his regiment. About two weeks afterwards a Salvation Army lassie came into the office and asked if I had enlisted a man of a certain name. At the time I did not trace the connection but thought that she was seeking the information for some one who was asking the assistance of an organization which required this world catastrophe to prove its most estimable worth. In a little while she told me that her husband had enlisted, and that as she had four children whom she could not keep on thirty dollars per month she wanted me to secure her husband's discharge. I told her this was impossible, but that she would get much more than thirty dollars per month. I explained that her husband would have to give her fifteen dollars per month, that the government would add fifteen dollars for her plus ten for their oldest child, seven fifty for the next child, and five dollars each for the other two children; therefore she would get at least fifty-seven fifty per month. Furthermore I knew that her husband was a noncommissioned officer; thus he could increase his allotment to perhaps thirty dollars, and she would likely get about seventy dollars per month. Then she said, "If I get seventy dollars per month I do not care if he never comes back." I am glad to say that I wrote to him and arranged a reconciliation between them, and when he comes back I know this will be a very happy family. One of the most distressing things to me was the continued evidence of the apparent lightness in which the marriage vow was held. I do not exaggerate when I say that over fifty per cent of the married men whom I enlisted informed me that they were not living with their wives; in fact it was odd and noticeable when a man answered that his wife would live with his or her parents or that he had some other arrangement made for her protection.

Some of the correspondence I have had with Washington concerning the assignments and allotments were also full of

interest. When I was in Washington I called upon Mr. Charles F. Nesbit, commissioner of war risk insurance in the treasury department. I found the main office of that department housed in the new National Museum. The exhibits had been crated away, and a large part of the eleven thousand clerks were located in this building; the others were scattered all over Washington. I was informed that they were receiving upwards of forty thousand pieces of mail per day. It was very hard to get anywhere near perfect results from so many girls who were drawn from all parts of the country and were doing work that not one of them had had any experience with and which was new even to the director and his chief assistants. It is no wonder that errors crept in.

It was rather displeasing to a person who was buying liberty bonds to find out how anxious some parents were that the government should send them the monthly allowance for their sons who were in the army, when the husband was working every day and really the family was in no way dependent on the soldier's money. When I got back from Washington I informed these individuals that the government was sending out inspectors to investigate every case, and that those who were receiving money, as it were, under false pretenses, would be forced to refund it and would be exposed and possibly prosecuted. From that time forward, there were no more inquiries made.

I have had a very large correspondence with Mr. Nesbit's office and many women are even yet applying to me for aid when their allotment does not come upon the exact day when they expect it. Other complaints are founded upon a more reasonable basis. A little while ago a young woman appeared before me and showed me a letter from the bureau of war risk insurance wherein it was stated that her husband was reported as having deserted November 27, 1918, and that, therefore, she must at once return the check issued to her for $52.25. It so happened the young woman had not cashed

the check but was holding it to help pay for her liberty bonds. The check was made out for only $47.50. I at once wrote to the adjutant general's office, explaining the error and the injustice that had been done to this soldier, for while he had been certified as a deserter on November 27, 1918, his wife was still receiving letters from him each week and these letters bore the name of the officer who censored them. I enclosed an envelope properly censored, dated April 12, 1919. I have since had a letter from my sheet anchor in Washington, Brigadier General James T. Kerr, saying that he has had a cablegram from General Pershing stating that this soldier was present for duty with his organization on March 31.

A man just bordering on the age limit came to the office. I sent him to be examined and he was rejected; he came back to the office very downcast and casually remarked to me, "I would give $5,000 if I could get in." There happened to be a newspaper man in the office who overheard the remark and got into conversation with the man. Consequently one of the evening papers had on its front page an item headed, "McCree is offered $5,000 to get a man into the Army." Then followed the news item, which one of the press associations sent out broadcast, giving the man's name, where he came from, and all about him. When I afterwards met him on the street he told me he felt like suing me for libel.

One peculiar case was that of a man who came into the office stating that he was a railroad switchman. At that time the railroads were so short of men to transport the crops and do other necessary work that I was refusing to take any more railroad workers, and I told him that he would be performing a more patriotic duty by staying in this country and doing the essential work here. Then a friend of his spoke up and said this was a very peculiar case; that this man's wife was very anxious that he should enlist because he had fallen into bad company here and it was impossible for him to break the connection otherwise. I called his wife to me and she confirmed

this statement. Of course I agreed at once to help him and sent him to the recruiting station for his physical examination. In a short time he returned with a letter from the recruiting officer saying he could not be accepted because his arm was full of needle marks, where he had been injecting drugs. I at once wrote to Major Yost at Minneapolis stating how anxious I was that this man should be saved from himself for his own and his wife's sakes. Major Yost in his usual kind manner acceded to my request and passed him. Two days afterwards, when I telephoned to Fort Snelling concerning the recruit, I found Major Yost had forwarded my letter to the authorities there, that on the strength of it they also had passed the man, and that he was then on the way to his regiment.

The case of a young man from White Bear was very interesting. This came up after the order was issued that men over twenty-one years of age could get into the army only by induction. A young fellow appeared before me and before I spoke to him I thought that he was about twenty-two and there would be some difficulty in taking him in. I was rather astonished when he told me he was between eighteen and nineteen. When a young man under twenty-one years came to me to enlist I was especially careful to ask him whether he had spoken to his parents about his anticipated move; some of them brought letters from their parents but I did not demand that. I usually put the young fellow on his honor to tell me the truth, and he usually did. I put the question to this young man and he assured me that he had consulted his parents. I put him through as usual and he passed his preliminary. Two days afterwards an elderly gentleman came in asking if I had enlisted a boy of a certain name. I told him I had; then the gentleman astounded me by informing me that the boy was only seventeen years of age. I at once offered to telephone to Fort Snelling and hinder the young man from getting his final examination, but the father was afraid that his son would

enlist under another name, and then he would not be able to keep track of him. I told the father to think it over and I would do as he wanted. In a little while my stenographer told me that the father and son were talking to each other in another part of the office. When they had conversed for about ten minutes I went across and said, "Well, what are you fellows going to do about it?" The father said they had agreed to put it up to me and that I should decide whether the boy should go. Of course I refused the responsibility but added that if it was my son, under the circumstances I would allow him to go. When I said that I thought the young fellow would jump out of his skin he was so pleased. He said, "Now dad, Mr. McCree says I can go." I cautioned the son that in the future he should absolutely tell the truth. I told him that some lies were told to do harm to others and that they, like their authors, were despicable, but that there might be patriotic untruths sometimes told, which I thought would be easily forgiven. At least I hope this is the case, for I have often certified that men were forty-four years of age when they were actually forty-six and thus over the age limit, which was forty-five. The father told me that this boy represented the fifth generation in his family of men who had fought in American wars and that one of his forebears had signed the Declaration of Independence. I advised him to exhume his great-grandfather and blame him for his son's action, if any blame had to be imposed. In two months from that date the young man stepped onto French soil.

A lady came into the office one day saying that I had sent her son home to get her permission to enlist and that she had given it lightly thinking that nothing would come of it, but that now her son had enlisted and she was afraid of the class of men with whom he would associate. Just at that time some Northern Pacific employees came in from a surveying party, every one of them filled with the exuberance of the anticipation of going into the army. I excused myself to the mother

and spoke to the young fellows in such a way that she could hear both sides of the conversation. They were such whole-hearted fellows, so full of youthful vigor and ambition, that after I had enlisted them all into the regiment her son was going into the mother told me, "Mr. McCree, I came into your office in tears; now I am going out with joy in my heart that my son can go with such fine young men to take some part for our dear country."

Another similar case was that of an Irish woman who came in demanding to know why I had taken her son away from her and insisting that I get him back to her at once. Of course I told her that this was impossible, that she could not get him out, and that since he was over twenty-one years of age I was justified in taking him. She sat at one end of my table and listened to my conversation with the men who were going into the army. Then in her rich Irish brogue she said to a young man with an Irish name, "Go to it my boy, I hope you will meet my Patsy and you will make a good pair." She left the office in a very different frame of mind from when she came in.

Many fellows came into the office to ask me how far they would be from the front. I told them it all depended on what regiment they got into; that the forestry regiment would be working in southern France, that the construction regiments would be working between the points of debarkation and the front, but that the shop regiments would be working a long way from the front line. This was necessary because we had sent millions of dollars worth of machinery across there and if we had some serious reverse we did not want to lose the machinery which was required for the absolutely necessary repair work on our locomotives, motor trucks, ordinance, et cetera. Some applicants would impatiently ask if I didn't have some regiments that would be right up at the front, and I would put these into the road-building or the search-light regiments. One young man was very cocky; he had all the

assurance in the world. I told him that it would not be a very safe thing to put him into the army because the American people had great confidence in General Pershing and I would not like to see the General "bumped" and I was afraid he would try to do that. He said, "Give me a chance, even at Pershing's job, and I'll make good."

Some of the men knew little or nothing of the new life they were entering. Some of the limited service men who were assigned to work with the draft boards did not get a fair chance; I know of one young man who did not even know the difference in seniority of officers and was totally ignorant as to the distinctive emblems of different ranks. The connundrum of whether he would rather be a colonel with an eagle on his shoulder or a private with a chicken on his knee was completely lost on him. One evening on a train going to Chicago, I saw a soldier whose face seemed familiar. I spoke to him and found I had enlisted him three days before and that he was on his way to Camp Grant, Illinois. The poor fellow was like a fish out of water riding in that Pullman car. First of all he was in the wrong seat; I knew that because an old dowager duchess kind of lady was hovering around, but she did not like to ask the man to get out, I suppose because of his uniform. I asked to see his ticket and found he had upper two, so I took him to his proper seat. He told me that he would like to smoke but hated to walk way ahead to the smoking car, so I took him into the smoking compartment and he said with a sigh, "Gosh! if I had known this place was here I would have been here all the time." He asked me whether he had his gaiters on right and I was amused to see that he had one laced down the front and the other down the right side of his left leg. When we came near Winona he asked where we were; when I told him he said, "The last time I came over this road I was traveling in a box car." I will wager that when he got into his upper berth he had the same pajamas on that he wore in the box car, namely, his whole suit of clothes.

One day a man came into the office very excited. He was an artist, a scene painter in one of our theatres, and he was very anxious to get into Company C of the Twenty-fifth Engineers. This was a company made up of camouflage artists. This fellow was a dandy man for that organization but he was an inveterate cigarette smoker and had one hundred per cent of artistic temperament. Before he went up for his preliminary physical examination, I spoke to him quietly because I knew his heart was beating about a thousand times a minute and that he would never pass in that condition. When I thought he was all right I let him go and then telephoned to the noncommissioned officer in charge at the recruiting station, telling him what kind of a man was coming to see him and that if there was nothing organically wrong to let him pass because he was a very desirable man for the camouflage unit. About three minutes after the man left he came back and said, "Oh! Mr. McCree pray that I may be passed." He was passed and he was so elated that it was about four days before he could get his feet back to earth so that he could go to Snelling for his final examination. After his elation he became tremendously depressed; every little while he would come in to ask me if I thought he would pass and each time I was requested to pray for him. At last I got him off to Snelling and sent him on his way assuring him that I would pray for him. When he was changing cars at Seven Corners he went to a telephone and called me up to remind me that I should continue to pray for him. Believing that in this case work was more efficacious than faith, I telephoned to Snelling and told the authorities how anxious I was to have this man accepted. Soon thereafter he left for American University to join his regiment.

The man referred to above was tremendously anxious to enter the service; now for a fellow who said he was but was not. This young man would often come into the office and make inquiries about different regiments and the necessary

qualifications for entering them. I soon divined that he had a streak of yellow. He was employed at the munitions plant at Stillwater and was registered at Anoka. He told my stenographer that he had been put in deferred classification by his board after telling them that he was supporting his nephew and niece, but that his father was actually supporting them and he merely gave them a dollar occasionally. This displeased me very much so I telephoned to the Anoka draft board and suggested that he be sent away with the next contingent. They sent for him to appear and during the conversation said that I had written to them and told them of his false statements. He came in and charged me with doing so and I told him he was in complete error; that I did not write to his board, but, fearing that a letter might be misunderstood and wishing them to have the information at once, I had telephoned to them. I am glad to say he was put into the army.

Very often men "dressed in a little brief authority" abused their privileges. I sent some locomotive engineers to Fort Snelling, and in about an hour they came back saying they would not go into the army for any price, that, if the treatment they might expect in France from the higher officers was to be more harsh than that dealt out to them by some of the noncommissioned fellows at Snelling, they would just go back onto their engines and let the army go hang. I called up the major at Fort Snelling and told him that the class of mechanics that I was sending to him were conferring quite as great a favor on the army as the army was conferring on them. I told him these men had something that the army required and they were willing to give it but that there was no reason why some young fellow with three stripes on his arm should try to lord it over them. Of course the engineers heard my side of the conversation so I added, "I have two men listening to me who say they won't go into the army because of the treatment received at the fort, but I know better—I know they

will go in and they will be at Snelling in thirty minutes." They were and they left St. Paul that evening for Camp Upton.

A very amusing thing happened when I was making a drive for the Motor Transport Corps. When I examined the boys I asked them what class of cars they had driven, whether they were accustomed to driving in busy streets, and what experience they had had in driving trucks. One of the items to be filled out on the enlistment form was labeled "color." When one boy answered "green," I said, "You are not green," and he replied, "Oh! I thought that meant the color of the car I had driven." A short time afterwards another man made the same answer and when I asked him why, he said, "I thought that meant the color of the card I got from the draft board."

When I was recruiting in Duluth a young man came into the office, tremendously anxious to get in. He kept saying "I want to carry on." He had come across from Canada to enlist so that he could "carry on." I found out that he had been in the Canadian Army for six months, four of which the poor fellow had spent in the hospital ill with inflammatory rheumatism, and during this time the poor boy had to be carried instead of being able to "carry on." At last he was discharged because of physical disability. When he got back into his "civies" he met an elderly lady dressed in mourning who said to him, "Young man, I have just got word of the death of one of my sons and I have still got two over there; why are you not in uniform?" The boy could not answer her but broke away from her on a run and took the train to the United States. Of course I could not take him in because he would not have passed the physical examination; but I will never forget the incisiveness of his last remark, "My God, man, I must carry on."

I had a great number of men come to the office whom I thought should not enlist. Many young men who were in schools or universities I advised to remain where they were.

In a few years the inroads which the war has made on our technical men will be felt, and as long as our pool rooms were overcrowded, I strove to keep our schools and universities supplied. Towards the close of the war I went into a large pool room in St. Paul one Sunday afternoon and counted 252 men who appeared to be of draft age. Of course, some of these men may have tried to get into the service and some may have had physical disabilities, but still it was a depressing sight to me, especially when I thought that so many of our brightest young fellows desired to leave their studies for the army.

It took men with a big vision and without prejudice to be in the recruiting game. There were different camps to which the men had to be sent to take their final physical examinations for the different regiments, and frequently the local recruiting officers would send a man back to me asking if I would not alter the regiment because they were afraid the man's heart would cause him to be rejected at the headquarters of the regiment I had designated but that he would be passed at another camp. Again I would be asked to alter the number of the regiment because the examining medical officer of that camp was a crank on teeth and they doubted whether the man would be admitted there. And so it went—the individual idiosyncrasies of the different officers would cause them to reject or admit the same man. I had two very fine civil engineers apply for admittance into the army at the same time. They both had very expensive bridge work done on their teeth but they were both rejected by a new officer at Fort Snelling; the previous medical examiner would have accepted both of them. I wired to Washington asking for a waiver for each of these men. My messages were identical in both cases, except of course for the names, and they were sent the same day; but one waiver was granted, the other was refused.

I think I have already mentioned that the war office forwarded to me the induction papers and that I would distribute

them to the boys and thereby make them very happy. If I did not get them from Washington in a reasonable time I would wire down and hurry them up; then sometimes I would get as many as one hundred in a day. But I presume my messages got too insistent, so they changed the system and sent the induction papers to the boys' addresses direct, and then I did not personally know how long they were taking to come through, and that freed Washington from my importunities.

Just before the armistice was signed an order was issued that recruiting for special units would discontinue except in special cases for such units as the Tank Corps or the Motor Transport Corps. The system worked out this way: every man would be sent to the army through his draft board and placed according to his statements to that board. Selective committees of officers were to be placed in each camp to represent each department of the army, and they were to pick out the proper number of men who would fit into their units. For example, the representative of the transportation units would pick out the railroad men, the officer of the construction and maintenance units would choose all the civil engineers and men having track and building experience, and the medical representatives would claim men suitable for male nurses and for veterinary work and the care of horses. In short, the work I had been doing in St. Paul, was turned over to the officers at the mobilization camps.

One of the most exhilarating things displayed during my whole work was the team work; the railroads did not raise a whimper when I took away hundreds of their men. I do not know how many men left Enderlin, North Dakota, on the "Soo" Railway to go into the army. I must have partially depopulated the place, and from Jamestown on the Northern Pacific I think I got all the male clerks from the division offices as well as dozens of trainmen and enginemen. The Northern Pacific topped the list among the roads of the Northwest for enlistment; each month I made out a report of

the men of various crafts from the different roads and in each month the Northern Pacific was ahead of the others. Quite a number of our men gained positions of high rank.

I desire here to pay a tribute to my stenographer, Miss Anna Zimmerman. No girl could have been more conscientious in her work than she was and I think I am not exaggerating when I say she laid down her life for her country. She developed a cold but would not remain away from her work and at last it got such a hold on her that she took pneumonia and died. She wrote to dozens of soldiers both in this country and in France; she learned to knit so that she could help supply their needs. She took almost complete control of the correspondence with the bureau of war risk insurance, and dozens of women in St. Paul testify to the kindly sympathy that she showed in each particular case. When I saw the Sixteenth Engineers in Camp Upton after their return, most of the men told me how sorry they were that she did not live until their return because they wanted to give her some token of their appreciation. She was a wonderful woman.

The influence of the army had a most elevating effect upon the men, mentally, physically, and socially. Of course some of them came out a little worse than they went in; but the majority of the men were mentally and physically benefited by the regularity of their hours and their meals, by the exercises which squared their shoulders, and by the necessity for immediate response to commands. Thus many minds were developed and men were taught to think quickly who in the past had not been accustomed to think at all. The army scientifically fed the men with bone-making and strengthening food so that almost without exception men lost flesh and gained weight. One man who came in to see me after he got home said he was twenty-two pounds heavier and two inches taller than he had been before.

One of the most interesting cases I had was left until almost the last day of my work. I was in Duluth on November 7,

1918, which was the date of the false news of the signing of the armistice. I was very busy all day, and I put an item in the evening paper stating that I would meet any men who wanted to enlist at the Lenox Hotel after 8:00 P. M. When I got to the hotel I found the lobby filled with waiting men, so I took them to my room in relays. About eleven-thirty I thought I was through, but there appeared a tall red-headed boy before me. I was at once struck with his appearance. At that time I was getting truckmen for the Motor Transport Corps and for the Tank Corps. I asked the young fellow what he was doing and he answered that he was still attending high school. I learned from him that he wanted to go to the University of Minnesota and take up mining engineering, as he thought there was great opportunity for men of that profession on the iron range. All the time I was talking to him I thought what a shame it would be to take this young man from school and send him to France to drive a motor truck, when I knew that when he came home again, ninety-nine chances to one he would not take up his studies where he left off. I told him at last that I could not accept him, that the price he was going to pay was too high. I told him to keep on with his studies, that this war would not last forever and that his country would need men after the war to do certain work as much as they required them now for war work. He pleaded with me and cried when I was obdurate. He told me that I was taking other men into the unit and that he was as well qualified to drive a truck as any one of them. I conceded that, but informed him that the other men, even if they lived to be sixty years of age, would still remain truck drivers; but that if he took my advice and continued uninterruptedly with his studies, he might be an international authority on mining when he was sixty; and that when he gained the pinnacle, I hoped he would, in some moment of leisure, remember the conversation in the Lenox Hotel in Duluth with the gray-haired elderly man who gave him the best advice he could under the circumstances. About a week afterwards my heart

was gladdened by receiving a letter from the boy's father thanking me for the advice I gave and stating that his son had had the good sense to accept it. This letter did me a lot of good. I do not know why but I was pleased.

The quality of the men who left the Northwest to go into the army was of the very finest. I have met many officers of different units since the war closed, and they are unanimous in paying tribute to the readiness, headiness, resourcefulness, and indefatigability of the men from this district. I had the pleasure of meeting the Sixteenth Engineers at Camp Upton on their return from France and I met their commanding officer, Colonel Burgess, who is a Detroit man. He enlarged on the quality of the men who had gone through my office and closed his remarks by saying "Mr. McCree, the men you sent down were the finest men—well, I won't put it that way—I had the finest men in the American army and the men who passed through your office were the most excellent men of the finest regiment. Look at the number of promotions which were made in the regiment, and with few exceptions they were earned by men from the Northwest." I visited Camp Dodge when the men from the Northwest in the Twenty-fifth Engineers were there. I met the officer who brought the contingent from Camp Merritt and he told me that better men could not be gathered together than the men who came from Minnesota. I enlisted upwards of five hundred men for that regiment, and, when I told the officer that it contained that many men from the Northwest, he remarked that they were the backbone of the regiment.

I wish to say in closing that my work was delightful. I was brought in contact with an ever-changing class of individuals; my work was kaleidoscopic; the vast majority of the men were strong, virile, wide-awake, splendid specimens of young Americans. Sometimes when I was bidding them good-by and good luck, I wanted to bid my stenographer good-by and go along with the boys. No wonder I feel young

after training for eighteen months with that exhilarating bunch of fellows. I had the high honor of enlisting 7,421 men into the army. This was more than any other individual in America. The highest number I enlisted in one day was 86. I never had the pleasure of meeting Major General Henry P. McCain of the adjutant general's office, but he bestowed on me a very high honor. He issued a small number of certificates to civilians who had been of help to the army in various ways, and I understand from Washington that I was the first man to be titled "Civilian Aide to The Adjutant General of the United States." I prize the honor very highly.

I corresponded with and met some very excellent men in official life on my trips to Washington. Brigadier General Kerr was very courteous to me, and I shall long remember the poor game of golf I played and the good game he played on the links at the Soldiers' Home, Washington. I was also glad to renew an old acquaintanceship with Brigadier General Frederic V. Abbot and Lieutenant Colonel Archibald O. Powell, associated with Major General Black, the chief of engineers. One of the most delightful men whom I met was Lieutenant Colonel Sanctuary, who was at the head of the war service exchange. He and I got on like brothers; he was never weary of acceding to my many requests and never replied in like terms when I wrote or wired some complaint concerning some apparent delinquency. If I had only known of the great stress under which the men in Washington worked, I would have been less insistent; but I had a host of deliriously patriotic boys prodding me, and I was infected with the virus and was sometimes very impatient.

Sometimes my work was very trying; but my recompense for doing something for the good old U. S. A. was sufficient in meeting so many delightful men in official life, in getting the whole-hearted support of the entire body of the officials of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, in the letters which I received from different officers in the army and

officials in Washington praising not only the quantity but the quality of men from Minnesota, and especially in meeting face to face young men whose one and consuming idea was to do their bit and carry on. I wish I had command of language fully to express my appreciation of the quiet, incisive patriotism that radiated from those young men that appeared before me; even while I sit and contemplate it, I am exhilarated.

GEORGE W. MCCREE

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Agrarian Crusade: A Chronicle of the Farmer in Politics (The Chronicles of America Series, vol. 45). By Solon J. Buck. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1920. xi, 215 p.)

In the *Chronicles of America Series,* of which Dr. Buck's book is volume 45, real progress has been made in the art of history writing. Earlier efforts at collaboration have generally suffered from an undue deference to the chronological method. Each author would be assigned a definite period of years to cover, and with his own sense of values he would work out his field in his own peculiar way. Incidents would be opened by one writer never to be closed by another. Contradictions in point of view and even in matters of fact could not always be corrected by the most careful editing. And the reader of a single volume was apt to have much the feeling of the casual attendant at the "movies" who happens in on the twelfth episode of the "Perils of Pauline."

The editors of the fifty volumes of the *Chronicles of America* have avoided many of these shortcomings by adopting the topical rather than the chronological method of treatment. Each writer has been given some particular phase of the nation's development to trace through from beginning to end, with the result that each volume is a unit in itself and may be read and enjoyed entirely apart from the rest. None the less, the editors have seen to it that the units are "all articulated, and so related" that, taken together, they present a real vision of the development of this country from the beginning to the present. The old plan gave to the reader a set of short strings of assorted sizes, which he laboriously tied together to form a badly-knotted, unsymmetrical "thread of history"; the new plan provides many slender strands ready to be rolled together into one unbroken and harmonious cord.

Another departure, equally noteworthy, is the attempt to make the narratives sufficiently spirited to attract "those of our citizens who are not in the habit of reading history." The editors

rightly feel that not the few alone, but rather the many, "need to know the experiences of our nation in times past" if we as a people may hope to "interpret aright the great social and economic forces of our own times." Writers have been selected, therefore, as much for their literary ability as for their scholarly attainments; the length of each narrative has been rigorously limited to about two hundred pages; and matters of interest solely to the technical historian have been waived. Viewed as a whole, the result is fairly satisfactory, although it seems unfortunate that the price of the edition should be so high that even well-established libraries hesitate to buy it, while the ordinary reader, whom the editors profess to be so anxious to reach, can never hope to own the set. Beautifully bound and printed as this edition is, to achieve the purpose of the editors another edition less expensive should certainly be provided.

With the battle cry of the Nonpartisan League resounding throughout the state today, citizens of Minnesota can hardly be surprised at the inclusion in this series of "a chronicle of the farmer in politics." Nor can they wonder at the selection of a Minnesotan to write the narrative, for Minnesota has been in the forefront of every agrarian movement since the Civil War. As the author of a scholarly monograph on *The Granger Movement,* published in 1913, and as superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, Dr. Buck has necessarily come into constant contact with the chief sources of the subject upon which he writes. In fact it was well-nigh inevitable that he should be assigned the task of narrating "that phase of political history which began with the Grange, passed through Greenbackism and Populism, and finally culminated in the battle for free silver and the rise of William Jennings Bryan in 1896."

While Dr. Buck makes little pretense of contributing anything new in this volume, he has brought together in readable fashion the essential facts of the whole agrarian movement in the Northwest. If the outline here presented had been more widely understood by the reading public of a few years ago, the emergence of the Nonpartisan League might not have been viewed as so extraordinary a phenomenon. The reader of these pages can scarcely avoid the generalization that once every so often, in a period of hard times, the farmers unite to avenge

their wrongs, take a hand in politics, and make their influence felt; then, when their efforts miscarry or the fat years succeed the lean, they permit their sentiment for coöperation to disappear, their organizations to die down or die out, and once again the old order reigns. The granges of the seventies waxed strong on the argument that the lack of agricultural prosperity was mainly due to the railroads, and that their shortcomings must be remedied by the state. The movement, however, soon collapsed, though not until it had taught the farmers the value of combination, and not until it had won notable decisions from the courts affirming the "right of States to fix maximum charges for any business which is public in its nature or which has been clothed with public interest" (p. 59). Next after the Granger movement followed the rise and fall of Greenbackism, with its contention that through currency inflation the farmer might increase the price of the things he had to sell, and at the same time prevent the appreciation of his debts. The Greenbackers yielded in their turn to the founders of the farmers' alliances, who endorsed every good thing, and finally in conjunction with the forces of labor blossomed forth as the People's Party. Carried away by the free silver fetish, this movement, too, met disaster, going down to defeat with Bryan in 1896. The reviewer is sorry, though doubtless Dr. Buck is not, that the editors saw fit to exclude any detailed treatment of the twentieth century farmers' activities in politics. It would be interesting to know the author's speculations on the probabalities of history repeating itself.

In spite of the popular manner of presentation employed, this book has the earmarks of scholarly workmanship. The bibliographical note at the close shows the author's wide familiarity with the sources, and the methods of the trained historian are by no means obscured by the scarcity of footnotes in the body of the work. Chapter 5, for example, which explains why the Granger movement collapsed, could never have been written by the merely casual investigator. The author, moreover, maintains an attitude of complete impartiality. The wrongs of the farmers are recognized, but so also are their excesses. At no time does he lay himself open to the charge of special pleading.

The book is undeniably entertaining. It ought to be of some interest even to the "dry-as-dust historian" to note how this end

is achieved. In the first place, the thread of the story is never lost. In spite of many incidental analyses of causes and effects, the reader generally has his attention fixed upon a narrative. Again, much is made of the many extraordinary individuals who adorn the pathway of the agrarian crusade. Four pages, for example, are devoted to a presentation of our own Ignatius Donnelly, and two to "Sockless Jerry Simpson" of Kansas. Several lively episodes such as the meeting of the Kansas legislature of 1893 have also been fortunate enough to escape an undeserved proscription. Finally the author has a ready and graceful flow of English. The volume merits and doubtless will obtain a wide popularity, especially in Minnesota and the Northwest.

JOHN D. HICKS

The Michigan Fur Trade (*Michigan Historical Publications, University Series,* vol. 5, pp. i–xii, 1–201). By IDA AMANDA JOHNSON. (Lansing, Michigan Historical Commission, 1919.)

This volume is made up of two monographs, one on the fur trade and the other a history of *The Pere Marquette Railroad Company.* Since the latter study has no special interest for Minnesota readers it will not be reviewed here. It might be in place, however, to criticise the policy of binding in the same volume two monographs as different in character as these two are. Each has its own title-page and index, and there is no title-page for the volume as a whole, in spite of the fact that it is paged consecutively throughout.

The monograph on the fur trade comprises a survey, in nine short chapters, of the French, British, and American periods of the trade in Michigan, with an additional chapter on "The Trader's Life." The first chapter, "Pioneer Trade," deals with the French policy and introduces such characters as Nicolet, Groseilliers and Radisson, La Salle, and the Jesuits. With chapter 2 the scene shifts to Detroit and an account is given of the work of Cadillac and his successors, while chapter 3 deals with the rivalry of Michilimackinac and other posts with Detroit. Chapters 4 and 5 take up the British policy and early trade, bringing the story down to 1796, when the posts were surren-

dered under the provision of Jay's treaty. American traders then appear upon the scene, and an account is given of the rivalry between British and American trading interests, which continued until after the War of 1812. The fur trade was at its height between 1815 and 1834, after which came a rather rapid decline as the fur-trader's frontier passed into Wisconsin and Minnesota. Five maps at the close of the study give the location of the principal posts during the different periods, together with land cessions under Indian treaties and the amount of the fur trade in different counties in 1840. There is a useful bibliography, but the index is distinctly inadequate.

The monograph appears to be carefully done, but there is not very much in it of special interest to a Minnesota reader. The names of Groseilliers and Radisson, Du Luth, and Joseph Rollette are about the only ones suggestive of Minnesota. Perhaps the chief interest of the study to Minnesotans lies in the fact that the fur trade in Michigan is a type of what took place in their own region when the fur-trader's frontier passed over the upper Mississippi country; and it is of special interest to remember that the two frontiers were linked together in the person of Henry Hastings Sibley, who was born in Detroit, passed through the apprenticeship stage in the fur trade at Mackinac under Robert Stuart, and became a partner in the American Fur Company in 1834, when Ramsay Crooks became president of the reorganized company after the retirement of John Jacob Astor.

WILSON P. SHORTRIDGE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The executive council of the society at its stated meeting on April 12 adopted a resolution authorizing the executive committee "to make arrangements for annual summer meetings for the reading of papers and other exercises of a social or educational character, at such time and place as the committee may determine." In many states, as for example Illinois and Michigan, such meetings, lasting one or two days, are held annually in different cities and are attended by members from all parts of the state. The programs often include, besides papers and addresses, such things as luncheons or receptions to visiting members, pageants, and trips to historic sites. Whether or not such a meeting will be held in Minnesota the coming summer has not been decided as yet.

Amendments to the by-laws adopted by the council at the same meeting, reduce the number of stated meetings of the council from four to two a year, on the second Mondays in April and October. The annual meeting of the society will be held in January as heretofore, and each new council will meet, primarily for the election of officers, as soon as may be after the adjournment of the triennial meeting of the society at which the members of the council are elected.

The following papers were read at the open session held in connection with the April meeting of the council: "Jane Grey Swisshelm, Reformer," by Lester B. Shippee, of the University of Minnesota, and "The Introspections of a Belated Puritan," by Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the society.

Six new members, all active, were enrolled during the months of February and March, 1920: Mrs. Julia Bassett Friday of Hawley, the Honorable Olai A. Lende of Canby, Foster Hannaford of Minneapolis, Margaret McFetridge of St. Paul, Rudolf Herz of Eagle Butte, South Dakota, and Joseph McAloon of Harris, Kansas. The only loss recorded in the membership ranks during the same period was that of the Honorable Thomas

M. Owen of Montgomery, Alabama, whose death occurred March 25. Mr. Owen had been director of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History since 1901.

The "practical" value of certain phases of the work of the society has recently been demonstrated by the special services rendered to several business establishments which have sought assistance: the large collection of historical pictures has furnished illustrative material for a number of advertising booklets; sketches of the Red River cart and other museum specimens have supplied motives for use in wall decoration; and a producer of historical pageants has derived suggestions as to scenes, incidents, and costumes from the society's library and museum.

The society has recently had an opportunity to be of service to the farmers of the Northwest. In its issue for February 28, *The Farmer* informed one of its readers who desired "a list of farm names, preferably Indian names," that the "Minnesota Historical Library, St. Paul, will furnish you a list of Indian names from which to choose." The society was not aware that this item had been published until a deluge of letters inquiring for such a list poured in from farmers throughout Minnesota, Wisconsin, and South Dakota, who had evidently decided to avail themselves of an opportunity to secure appropriate names for their farms. In response to this demand a list of some eighty Sioux, Chippewa, and Algonquian names with their English translations was immediately prepared and a copy was sent to each person who asked for it. Copies of the list are still available, and anyone interested will be supplied with one upon request.

The society has just published a *Handbook* of forty-six pages descriptive of its organization and activities. The booklet is intended for free distribution and a copy will be sent to anyone interested upon request.

Mr. C. Edward Graves, librarian of the society since November, 1917, has resigned, and Mr. Robert W. G. Vail has been appointed to the position. Mr. Graves's faithful and efficient

service covered the trying period of the removal of the library to the new building and its rearrangement therein; and it was with sincere regret that his resignation, to engage in what he hopes will be more remunerative work, was accepted. Mr. Vail comes to the society from the New York Public Library, with which he has been connected since 1914. During the war he was manager of the New York dispatch office of the American Library Association for five months, after which he enlisted in the coast artillery.

The position of reference assistant, in charge of the desk in the reading room, which had been vacant since January, was finally filled early in April by the appointment of Miss Hazel E. Ohman, formerly on the St. Paul Public Library staff. Members of the catalogue and accessions departments took turns serving at the desk in the interval, much to the detriment, however, of the work in those departments.

A brief article entitled "Attic Dust and Treasures," written by Mr. Vail, the new librarian, was published in the March number of *Library Notes and News,* the magazine issued by the department of education for distribution to all librarians in the state. As the title suggests, the article was a plea for the preservation of the historical material to be found in every attic, which all too often is destroyed at house-cleaning time. Reissued in mimeographed form, this article was mailed to several hundred members of the society and others who might be interested, with very gratifying results in the shape of contributions of books, magazines, newspaper files, museum objects, and manuscript letters, diaries, and account books.

A catalogue of Minnesota imprints has recently been begun by the library. When it is completed cards for all books, pamphlets, and newspapers printed in Minnesota from the introduction of the first press in 1849 to 1880 will be filed not only in the general catalogue, where the arrangement is alphabetical by authors, titles, and subjects, and in the shelf list, where the arrangement follows the classification of the books themselves, but also in an imprint catalogue where they will be grouped first by the places in which they were printed and then according

to the dates of printing. In the cases of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth the cards will be grouped by printers before the chronological arrangement is applied. Newspapers will be entered under the date of publication of the first issue. This catalogue, besides being a valuable bibliographical tool, will facilitate the study of the history of printing in any given town or the work of a particular press.

Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock Jr., curator of the museum, spoke on "The Fur Trade" at a meeting of the Mutual Aid Blind Society of St. Paul on the evening of February 28.

"How the First Settlers Came to St. Paul," "The Indian Medicine Man," and "The History of Fire Arms" were the subjects of talks by the curator at the children's history hours in the museum on February 28 and March 13 and 27. The one scheduled for February 14 was canceled on account of the influenza epidemic. Credit for attendance at these meetings and notes on the lectures is given in some of the schools. The visits of classes or other special groups during these two months was unusually large, twenty-four such groups, with a total of 753 students, being recorded. Two of the classes, by prearrangement, were given special lectures by the curator on "The Settlement of Minnesota."

The increased attendance of classes in the museum was doubtless due in part to a circular letter, signed by the curator, which, under date of February 16, was sent to the principals of 745 schools in the state. This letter called attention to "the opportunities for visualizing and making real the teaching of history through the exhibits and work of the museum," and pointed out that the facilities offered are useful in connection with the teaching, not only of history, but also of political science, geography, domestic science, and other subjects. The state department of education and the superintendents of schools of the Twin Cities coöperated with the society in bringing this letter to the attention of principals and teachers.

A number of boys interested in stamp collecting have organized a club which meets twice a month in the museum.

A special exhibit of a group of pictures illustrating lumbering in Minnesota, designed as the first of a series of exhibits relating to the various industries of the state, has been arranged in the museum. Displays of Washington and Lincoln material were made during February by both the museum and the manuscript division.

Accessions

Under this heading will be published in each issue of the Bulletin notes on the most important additions to the collections of the society during the preceding quarter, whether received as gifts, deposits, exchanges, or purchases. Attention should also be directed to the notes on "War History Activities" in the "News and Comment" section, where the principal acquisitions of the Minnesota War Records Commission are described. The society is designated by law as the custodian of the material being assembled by the commission.

A few months ago Mr. Edson Gaylord of Minneapolis, a life member of the society, acquired from a dealer in old books in St. Louis a journal of Major Lawrence Taliaferro, Indian agent at Fort Snelling, which covers the years 1827 to 1829. Recently Mr. Gaylord loaned this journal to the society and upon examination it was found to be a missing number of the series of Taliaferro Journals in the manuscript collection. This series was acquired from Taliaferro himself, through Dr. Neill, in the sixties; and a letter from the major, found in the Neill Papers, refers to his having sent one of the journals to an editor in St. Louis. This is undoubtedly the volume in question. Mr. Gaylord intends ultimately to give the original journal to the society. In the meantime, carefully collated typewritten copies of it are being made at his expense, one of which is intended for the society. A full page article about this journal and the career of Major Taliaferro in Minnesota appeared in the *Minneapolis Journal* of April 11. The volume itself formed the central feature of a special Taliaferro exhibit, which was installed in the museum just before the April meeting of the council.

Through the courtesy of the library of Oberlin College, which owns the original manuscript, the society has been permitted to make a typewritten copy of the "Reminiscences of the Early Oberlin Missionaries and Their Work in Northwestern Minnesota, as Dictated . . . by Rev. S. G. Wright, Missionary, 1890." The writer of this document served as a missionary to the Chippewa at Red Lake from 1843 to 1859 and was employed in government service among them from 1859 to 1862, from 1867 to 1873, and from 1875 to 1881. The reminiscences are a valuable source for the history of northern Minnesota and it is probable that they will be published in some future number of the BULLETIN.

A small but valuable collection of papers of Governor Henry A. Swift has been presented by his daughter, Mrs. Gideon S. Ives. Of special interest in this collection is a letter from Governor Gorman, dated January 31, 1857, concerning the attempt to remove the capital of the territory to St. Peter. A copy of the removal bill and a roll call giving the probable vote in the House of Representatives accompanied the letter. Other items of historical value are a letter from Elias F. Drake, dated June 26, 1862, claiming the credit for the construction of the first railroad in Minnesota, between St. Paul and St. Anthony, and one from Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, dated January 6, 1863, concerning the attitude of Senator Rice in the slavery controversy and his cordial coöperation with the Republicans after the attack upon Fort Sumter.

A small but interesting group of autographs has been received from Mrs. John W. Friday of Hawley, Minnesota. Among the celebrities represented are Edward Everett Hale and John Burroughs, the latter by a two page letter written to Mrs. Friday from West Park, New York, January 24, 1912, in which he says, "I should like to be set down for a week at your plantation in that interesting country [*Minnesota*]. There must be a lot of live natural history there for the gathering."

Mrs. Charles M. Neely of St. Paul, has enriched the society's collections by the gift of a number of manuscripts of colonial and mid-western interest. Among them are three letters of her

great aunt, Matilda Hoffman, the fiancée of Washington Irving, and copies of two unpublished letters written by Irving himself to her grandmother, Anne Hoffman. One of the letters of Irving, dated August 10, 1807, gives "as accurate a return as was ever furnished by a health committee" of the bodily health of the Hoffman family, which had been considerably impaired by the "flu." Irving's description of the ailment, in spite of its humorous tone, touches a responsive chord in present day readers. The papers of mid-western interest are land grants of 1841 and 1843 issued to Mrs. Neely's father, the Honorable Richard S. Molony, and a letter written by Mr. Molony from the Democratic convention at Baltimore in 1852, bewailing and explaining the defeat of Lewis Cass and announcing the nomination of Franklin Pierce for the presidency.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, the society has received two valuable Norwegian manuscripts from Mr. Alfred Adsem of Minneapolis. One of these—a letter written by Thorwald Nadland at Stavanger, Norway, June 28, 1825—is especially significant because it embodies a copy of a letter written by Kleng Peerson at New York in December, 1824, to relatives and friends in Norway. Peerson was the advance agent of early Norwegian immigration to the United States, and his letter clears up a number of disputed points in regard to his connection with that movement. The other document is a joint letter written August 6, 1850, by a group of immigrants just arrived in New York. Mr. Blegen has also been instrumental in enabling the society to make a photostatic copy for its collection of another manuscript pertaining to early Norwegian immigration to the United States. This is a journal left by Ole Trovatten, an immigrant, in which he recounts his trip from Norway to Wisconsin in the early forties and describes the Norwegian settlements in Wisconsin. The original of this valuable document belongs to Mr. Halvor Skavlem of Janesville, Wisconsin.

From the T. Guldbrandsen Publishing Company, publishers of the *Minneapolis Tidende,* through the courtesy of Mr. Carl Hansen and Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, the society has received a file of *Emigranten,* a Norwegian newspaper published at Madison, Wisconsin, for June to December, 1857, and for all of 1859,

1862, 1864, and 1865. This file is a mine of valuable material for the student of immigration, politics, and similar topics in the history of the Northwest during this period. The issues from October 10 to November 1, 1859, for example, contain a hitherto unknown account of a contemporary trip through Minnesota.

A valuable scource for the religious history of the Middle West recently acquired by the library is a file of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* (Chicago), one of the oldest and best known religious papers of the region. This file, which was secured from the Garrett Biblical Institute of Evanston, Illinois, in exchange for some of the society's duplicate material, consists of forty-eight volumes beginning in 1858 and ending in 1901. There are a good many large gaps in the file, but it is hoped that other files which will contribute to the filling of the gaps may be picked up from time to time.

A booklet entitled *Proceedings on the Occasion of the Presentation to Mr. Charles W. Ames of the Cross of the Legion of Honor by Dr. Marcel Knecht . . . Representing Ambassador Jules J. Jesserand, at St. Paul, Minnesota, November the Twelfth, 1919,* has been presented to the society by Mr. Ames. It contains an account of the ceremony, including a report of the addresses of Governor Burnquist, Dr. Knecht, and Mr. Ames, by which the French government conferred upon the donor, in appreciation of his services in the World War, the "title Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, with the Cross of the Order."

The writing of local history is a thankless task and is not only unremunerative but the author is indeed fortunate if he can find friends and subscribers to pay the bare cost of printing. Many a historian is not even so fortunate and needs must content himself with a brief appearance in the columns of his local paper, where the history which has been years in the making is read from week to week and then scattered and forgotten. A valuable record of this sort is sometimes rescued from oblivion, however, finds its way into the permanent form of a scrapbook, and eventually reaches the local history shelf of a reference library, where it elbows a place among the subscription histories with their steel engravings, ponderous bindings, and doubtful

historical value. Such a scrapbook history, modest but interesting and valuable, has recently been put together and presented to the society by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert C. Varney of St. Paul. It is a fifty page, double column, quarto volume, with a typewritten title page, which reads: "Sketches of Kensington History, Rockingham County, New Hampshire. By Rev. Roland D. Sawyer. Published in the Exeter, N. H. News Letter. 1918–1919."

Twenty-four bronze replicas of medals in the presidential series have been presented to the society by Senator Frank B. Kellogg. These, together with the three original silver or pewter medals which are among the museum specimens, form a complete set beginning with the administration of President Washington and continuing down through that of President Wilson. The earlier medals of this group are known as the "Peace and Friendship" series, because of the clasped-hands design and the inscription "Peace and Friendship" on the reverse side. Each medal bears on the obverse the effigy head of the president in whose administration it was issued. A medal of this sort was valued by the Indian as a decoration and also as a mark of distinction which indicated his friendship for and loyalty to the government issuing it. When the United States began to deal with the Indian tribes after the Revolution, it found them in possession of British flags and medals as symbols of their allegiance to King George. The representatives of the American government collected the English tokens and issued American medals and flags to take their places. The later medals in the collection belong to the presidential series, but are not of the "Peace and Friendship" type. The design on the reverse side commemorates the presidency of the man whose effigy appears on the face of the medal. The three original medals in the possession of the society of those for Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, and Franklin Pierce.

The Honorable John T. Johnson of Fergus Falls, formerly a member of the legislature, and his mother, Mrs. Thomas Johnson, have recently presented a fine collection of articles from their old homestead near Waseca, which illustrate pioneer

life in Minnesota. A hand loom for weaving cloth, a Saxony spinning wheel, skein reels, a broadax for hewing timbers, handmade carpenter tools, a wooden chest made in 1798, and other interesting domestic articles are included among the specimens. The Johnsons came from Norway in the early fifties and settled near Waseca. Some of the articles appear to have been brought from the old country; others, such as the loom, were probably made in Minnesota, although they are naturally similar in design to implements with which the makers were familiar in Norway.

A Sioux cradle or bag for a papoose and a long trunk strap, both decorated with beads, a buckskin game bag, a hunting knife, and several other Indian articles, all from Montana, are valuable museum items recently received from Robert Somerville of Chicago, Illinois.

Arthur Graves Douglass and his son, Ralph E. Douglass, both of Minneapolis, have given to the society a fowling piece which was presented to their ancestor, Benjamin Graves, by General Washington at the close of the Revolutionary War. Graves served in Massachusetts and Connecticut regiments during the greater part of the war and is said to have acted as body servant for Washington for several years. The gun was given to him in recognition of his fidelity.

NEWS AND COMMENT

A valuable collection of manuscripts bearing upon the history of the fur trade and early steamboating in the upper Mississippi Valley has recently been purchased by the Wisconsin Historical Society. It consists of material collected by Captain Joe Buisson, a steamboat pilot and master, who died recently at Wabasha, Minnesota, where he was born in 1846, and whose father and grandfather were well-known fur-traders. Of special value in the collection are some 140 papers acquired from Alexis Bailly, the noted fur-trader, which cover the period from 1821 to 1850. Numerous photographs of steamboats and pilots are also included. Students of western history will rejoice that this collection has found a depository where its preservation is assured and where it may be freely consulted.

The Pioneer Rivermen's Association held its annual meeting in St. Paul on March 12, with an attendance of forty members and their families. A feature of the meeting was the exhibition, by means of a stereopticon, of pictures of river steamboats formerly piloted by those in attendance and other views recalling the days when river transportation was in its prime. The account of this meeting in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for March 13 and an editorial on "Ye Old Time Steamboat" in the same paper for March 15 called forth a communication from Mr. Fred A. Bill thanking the *Pioneer Press* for the attention accorded to the association and describing the old-time river traffic between St. Paul and St. Louis. This is published in the March 20 issues of both the *St. Paul Dispatch* and the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa.

The Read's Landing Association, an organization composed of former residents of what was once a prosperous river town, held its annual meeting in St. Paul on February 20. Members recalled the days when Read's Landing was a busy commercial center, while they viewed familiar scenes of the town's prosperous period, which were projected on a screen. Mr. Fred A. Bill,

president of the association, furnished the *St. Paul Daily News* with an interesting sketch of the history of the town from the first establishment of a trading post on its site by Augustine Roque about 1810 to its decline when the railroads began to supersede the river for transportation purposes about 1870. This sketch and some excellent pictures, including a view of the wharf at Read's Landing as it appeared in 1867, a portrait of Charles R. Read for whom the town was named, and portraits of Mr. Bill, are published in the issue of the *News* for February 22.

The Winona County Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting at Winona on February 21. In an address delivered before the gathering the Reverend Patrick R. Heffron contrasted modern with pioneer conditions. The names of members of the association who died during the year with the dates of their arrival in the county are published in connection with a detailed account of the meeting in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for February 21.

Pageants depicting the chief events in the history of Minnesota and, especially, of the particular communities in which they are produced will be staged in a number of places in the state during the summer. The feature of the home-coming celebration to be held in Marshall, Lyon County, on June 17 and 18, in observation of the semicentennial of the founding of the town, will be such a pageant; another will be presented in Red Wing on August 5 and 6.

"The Rhythm of Sioux and Chippewa Music," by Frances Densmore, in the February number of *Art and Archaeology,* is a study of the significance of the rhythmic qualities of Indian songs and their drummed accompaniments, by the author of several books on the subject of Indian music (see *ante,* 2: 583). In this paper Miss Densmore maintains "first that the rhythm of Sioux and Chippewa songs expresses the idea of the songs, and, second, that the relation of the rhythm of voice and drum expresses in a measure the cultural development of the race."

In "Further Discoveries Concerning the Kensington Rune Stone," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March, Mr.

Hjalmar R. Holand presents the results of his search, in October, 1919, for the "two skerries" mentioned in the inscription as "one day's journey north from this stone." Applying his theory that the expression "day's journey" is a "recognized unit of distance" of about eighty miles, Mr. Holand locates the skerries in Cormorant Lake of Becker County, Minnesota. Two holes, apparently made with a chisel, in boulders on the shore of the lake and a number of depressions or "sunken graves" on a knoll near-by are adduced as evidence. An interview with Mr. Holand, published in the magazine section of the *St. Paul Daily News* for February 22 under the title "Did White Men Visit Minnesota Before Time of Columbus?" covers about the same ground.

"The Early History of Jonathan Carver," by William Browning, in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March, is based largely on the local archives of Canterbury, Connecticut, and Weymouth, Massachusetts, and appears to establish conclusively that the explorer was born in Weymouth, April 17, 1710, and "came of able stock on both sides." The evidence indicates, also, that he was descended from Robert Carver, brother of the first governor of Plymouth Colony. Another item of Carver interest in the same number is the first installment of "A Journal of Life in Wisconsin One Hundred Years Ago, Kept by Willard Keyes of Newfane, Vermont." Keyes came to Prairie du Chien in 1817 in company with the Reverend Samuel Peters and others who were trying to substantiate a claim to the famous grant of land supposed to have been made to Carver by the Sioux Indians at Carver's Cave near St. Paul in 1767. In addition to throwing light on that abortive project, this installment of the journal contains incidental references to Lord Selkirk and his settlement on the Red River and to Robert Dickson and other "Indian traders returning from St. Peters river." It presents an interesting day by day narrative of the trip by way of Mackinac and the Fox-Wisconsin route to Prairie du Chien and of life at this frontier outpost during the winter of 1817–18. It might be noted in passing that the expression, "the Carver Grant in western Wisconsin," used in a footnote (p. 340) is misleading, as the boundaries described in the reputed deed cover a section of Minne-

sota, including most of St. Paul and a considerable part of Minneapolis.

An article entitled "Fur Famine Stalks the Trails of Old Red River Carts and Prices Soar Aloft," in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 8, sketches the history of the fur trade in Minnesota and the Northwest. The development of St. Paul as a market for furs from the pioneer period to the present receives special attention.

The *Northwestern Miller* for February 18 publishes an article entitled "From White Pine Forest to Farm Land," by Rollin E. Smith. It recalls the "first invasion of the north woods of Wisconsin and Minnesota . . . for the sole purpose of taking out the white pine," which produced a district dotted with lumber camps and sawmill towns and inhabited by lumberjacks. How the "cut-over lands," which were considered useless following the depletion of the forests, may be used for purposes of agriculture is demonstrated by the author. Photographs illustrative of the life of the lumberjack accompany the article.

The sketches of "Leaders of Minnesota Progress," by E. Dudley Parsons, which have been running in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Journal* (see *ante,* p. 309), ceased to appear after March 21, despite the fact that two of the twelve originally announced had not been published. The subjects of the sketches in the issues from February 1 to March 21 are Edward D. Neill, Henry Whipple, James J. Hill, Ignatius Donnelly, Dr. William W. Mayo, Newton H. Winchell, Frederick W. Weyerhaeuser, and Cushman K. Davis.

An interview with Dr. William W. Folwell on the occasion of his eighty-seventh birthday, published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 15, contains some interesting reminiscences of his life and activities. The pioneer educator tells about his own education, his Civil War experiences, the circumstances which brought him to Minnesota, and conditions as he found them at the University of Minnesota upon his arrival; he describes the growth of that institution between 1873, when degrees were conferred upon two graduates, and the early nineties, when his work of promoting secondary education began to bear

fruit in the enormously increased size of the student body; and he expresses his desire to see "elementary college work in every community."

Installments of Dr. Cyrus Northrop's " 'Reminiscences' " continue to appear from time to time in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* (see *ante,* p. 234). In the chapter published November 24, headed "Coming to Minnesota," Dr. Northrop tells how a group of regents persuaded him to accept the presidency of the University of Minnesota in 1884 and describes the commencement of his new life and new duties in the West. The three chapters which have since appeared, on December 22, February 2, and March 1, are concerned with what is perhaps the greatest formative period in the development of the university, the four years from 1888 to 1892, when "the institution acquired a momentum that has never ceased" and Dr. Northrop succeeded in putting into operation his twofold policy of organizing new colleges and erecting additional buildings. Considerable space is devoted to the movement, which gained formidable support from members of the legislature in the late eighties, "to take the college of agriculture out of the hands of the regents, separate it from the University, [and] make it a college directed by farmers." The author gives a dramatic account of how John S. Pillsbury prevented such division by offering to the legislature the funds needed for the completion of a science building (Pillsbury Hall) for the university, asking in return only the "assurance of the future safety of the University from dismemberment." Now and then Dr. Northrop pauses to pay tribute to notable persons who have served the university or the cause of education in Minnesota. Among them are Henry H. Sibley, president of the board of regents from 1876 to 1891; Ignatius Donnelly, "an ex-officio member of the board of regents 1860–1863 (Lieutenant-Governor) and later . . . an influential force in the legislature"; Dr. George H. Bridgeman, president of Hamline University; and numerous members of the university faculty.

A valuable addition to the available material on the subject of Norwegian immigration is *Utvandringshistorie fra Ringerikesbygderne,* by O. S. Johnson of Spring Grove, Minnesota (Minne-

apolis, 1919. 416 p.). This history of immigration to Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and other states of the Northwest from the Ringerike district in Norway has been published under the auspices of the Ringerikeslaget, a society organized at Albert Lea in 1916 by former residents of Ringerike who now live in the United States. The opening chapter is devoted to a history and description of the home district in Norway, and individual sketches of the five communities of which it is composed are scattered throughout the volume. In a brief section at the end recent events in Norway of interest to the members of the society are recounted and the names and addresses of members of the organization are published. The bulk of the volume, however, is made up of family histories and records of the immigration of "Utvandrede fra Ringerike," or individuals who have come to the Northwest from that district. Since a large per cent of these people have settled in Minnesota, the work is of decided interest in this state. It has also been published serially, beginning in August, 1916, in *Samband,* a Norwegian magazine of Minneapolis, designated by the Ringerikeslaget as its official organ.

In the February and March issues of the *North Star,* Mr. Theodore C. Blegen writes about "The America Letters" written by pioneer immigrants from Norway to their relatives and friends in the old country, which had a very important part in stimulating immigration to the United States. The article is based in part on hitherto unused material and contains translations of some of the letters.

The growth of a little Swedish community centered about a Lutheran church, Beckville in Meeker County, is traced and the golden jubilee of its church is commemorated in a volume entitled *Minnesalbum med en Illustrerad Historik utgifen af Svenska Evangeliskt Lutherska Beckville-Församlingen I Meeker County, Minn., med anledning af dess Femtioårs-Jubileum, Den 28–30 Juni 1919* (Rock Island, Illinois, 1919. 120 p.). The illustrations consist of portraits of pastors and members of the congregation and of photographs of the exterior and interior of their place of worship.

The controversy between Minnesota and Wisconsin over the location of the boundary line in the harbor at Duluth (see *ante,* p. 222), was settled on March 8 by a unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court favorable to Minnesota. As a by-product of this case a large amount of interesting and valuable data relating to the Duluth-Superior region and especially to the navigation of the bays at the head of Lake Superior has been put in the way of preservation by being printed. *The Transcript of Record,* which contains the testimony taken by the court commissioner, comprises two volumes of 1,074 pages numbered consecutively. Other documents printed in connection with this case are the *Brief for State of Minnesota* (283 p.), the *Brief for the State of Wisconsin* (xviii, 377 p., maps), the *Reply Brief for State of Minnesota* (90 p.), and the decision of the court (10 p.). The first 128 pages of the Wisconsin brief are devoted to an elaborate historical discussion, with many quotations from sources, designed to establish the meaning of the term "the mouth of the St. Louis River."

"St. Paul Northwest Bank Center for 70 Years" is the title of an excellent outline of the financial history of Minnesota's capital in the *St. Paul Daily News* for March 21. The numerous private banks established between 1854, when Charles W. W. Borup and Charles H. Oakes founded the first bank in the territory, and the Panic of 1857, which was survived by only two banks, are listed; the effects of the Civil War are noted; the development of two of the city's leading financial institutions, the First National Bank and the Merchant's National Bank, is traced; and the work of such leaders as Henry P. Upham, Horace Thompson, and Maurice Auerbach is evaluated. Portraits of six pioneer bankers of St. Paul and a picture of a dollar bill issued by an early private bank appear with the article.

With the exception of a description and history of "Carver's Cave," published March 21, Benjamin Backnumber's articles on "St. Paul Before This" in the Sunday issues of the *St. Paul Daily News* during February and March have consisted entirely of biographical sketches of persons who figured in the early history of Minnesota, and, especially, of St. Paul. The subjects of the sketches and the dates on which they appeared are as

follows: "Tod' Cowles, Editor and Sportsman," February 1; "The First White Child" born in St. Paul, an examination of the relative claims of Basil Gervais and David Guerin to the honor, February 8; "Seneca E. Truesdell, Printer and Cynic," February 15; "Jane Grey Swisshelm," February 22; "David Olmstead, First and Youngest Mayor" of St. Paul, February 29; "Two Journalistic Fire-Eaters," Daniel A. Robertson and Dr. Thomas Foster, March 7; and "Vital Guerin, Early Settler and Liberal Giver," March 14.

An entire section of the *St. Paul Dispatch* for March 30 is devoted to the announcement that Noyes Brothers and Cutler, wholesale druggists of St. Paul, have achieved the "half century mark in business progress." Although most of this space is occupied by accounts of the present activities of the firm, a brief sketch of its history is included. Outstanding events in the growth of the business are noted, such as its establishment as "a drug and paint business . . . under the name Sims, Vawter and Rose," its purchase by Daniel R. and Charles P. Noyes, the entrance into the firm of Edward H. Cutler, and the four moves to larger quarters necessitated by increased business. The early days of the business, when the Indians "brought medicinal roots to the store and exchanged them for merchandise or cash" and the wares handled by the concern were "distributed by railroad, boat and ox-cart as far as transportation reached, and as fast as it extended," receive special attention. Pioneer methods of distribution are also treated in an article on Frank E. Noble, "dean of Noyes Bros. & Cutler's sales force," who has spent "forty years on the road." Pictures published in the section consist of portraits of officers, buyers, and salesmen of the firm and photographs of buildings occupied by it.

Pioneer methods of handling and distributing mail are recounted in the reminiscences of "Pat O'Brien, for 50 years a postal clerk, and John J. McGuire, nearly 40 years a city carrier," published, with their portraits, in the *St. Paul Daily News* for March 14 under the heading, "Old Timers Recall St. Paul in Stage Coach Days."

Portraits of twenty St. Paul mayors appear in the *St. Paul Daily News* for February 8 under the heading "Men Who Have Piloted the Good Ship St. Paul." The caption of each picture includes the mayor's name, the dates of his term of service, and the name of the political party with which he was affiliated.

An article on "The Sacajaweans" in the *St. Paul Daily News* for March 21, recounts the history of the society which later became the St. Paul Political Equality Club. Portraits of the leaders of the organization accompany the article.

An article entitled "Minneapolis History Told in Bronze and Marble, with Statues for Chapters," in the *Minneapolis Journal* for March 28, enumerates the memorial and decorative monuments which have been erected in Minneapolis from time to time and notes the sculptor and location of each. Photographs of six of the statues are reproduced with the article.

"Pioneer Drug Stores Pictured by City's Oldest Apothecary," is the title of an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 7 by Frank G. O'Brien, who claims to be "the oldest surviving druggist in Minneapolis." The author's portrait accompanies the article.

A story of "When Minneapolis Flashed as a Film Making Possibility" in the pioneer period of the motion picture industry is narrated in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 29. From the very incoherent account it appears that "Hiawatha," the first dramatic production of "the independents," was filmed in Minnehaha Glen in 1909, with such present day stars as Mary Pickford and Thomas Ince in the company.

The life of John T. Blaisdell, a pioneer lumberman and landowner of Minneapolis, is sketched in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 7 under the heading "Talk of Renaming Blaisdell Avenue Calls to Mind Sturdy Pioneer Who Helped Build Up Minneapolis." Mr. Blaisdell's activities in providing a school for his neighborhood, first in the parlor of his own dwelling, then in a separate building of but one room, and finally in the brick structure which today is known as the Whittier School, are recalled by his daughter, Miss Mary A. Blaisdell. A portrait of

the pioneer Minneapolitan and a picture of his early home accompany the article.

The *Minneapolis Journal* for February 8 contains a collection of stories about Lincoln recalled by local people who knew or came in contact with him. Interesting incidents in the domestic life of the great president are supplied by Dana Todd, whose father, General John B. S. Todd, was Mrs. Lincoln's cousin. The bereavement of the nation at the time of Lincoln's assassination is described by Judge Ell Torrance, a member of the guard of honor which watched the body while it lay in state in Baltimore. The illustrations include portraits of President and Mrs. Lincoln and of members of the Todd family.

Fête Sale, 1894–1920, an advertising pamphlet issued by The Young-Quinlan Company of Minneapolis, contains a pictorial record of the growth of Minneapolis to 1874 "made through the courtesy of and from photographs taken by E. A. Bromley and from original pictures held by The State Historical Society."

An article by "The Rambler" in the *Shakopee Argus* for March 5 is an example of what a single copy of an old newspaper can reveal about the pioneer life of a community. Items and advertisements and a partisan editorial in the earliest copy of the *Argus* in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society, that for July 4, 1863, furnish most of the material for the article. The locations in the present town of business houses of the Civil War period are noted, frequently with information concerning the subsequent activities of the owners; and incidently the reader may learn something of the economic needs of the pioneer. Data on the early history of the *Argus* are also included.

A history of the *St. Peter Tribune,* which was established February 15, 1860, and ceased publication January 21, 1920, appears in the *St. Peter Free Press* for January 24. The various owners and editors of the *Tribune* are noted, but special attention is given to Joseph K. Moore, who founded the paper, and Andrew R. McGill, who subsequently became governor of Minnesota.

Articles of Minnesota or general interest in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March are, besides those already mentioned, "An Experiment of the Fathers in State Socialism," by Milo M. Quaife, which deals with the history of the Indian trading houses operated by the United States government during the first quarter of the nineteenth century; chapter 5 of Miss Kellogg's "Story of Wisconsin," treating of "Foreign Immigration in Territorial Times"; and "Recollections of Chief Mayzhuc-ke-ge-shig," by John Thomas Lee.

Over 250 new members have been added to the rolls of the Wisconsin Historical Society during the last year and a half as a result of a vigorous drive conducted by a special membership committee with an enthusiastic chairman. A large increase in membership is also reported by the State Historical Society of Iowa. Obviously there are many people in the western states sufficiently interested in history to help support their state societies if the matter is adequately brought to their attention.

A noteworthy plan for marking historic sites is being worked out in North Dakota. The locations of forts, trading posts, battles, and points along famous trails, such as that followed by Lewis and Clark, are accurately ascertained; the sites are then purchased by the communities in which they are located, converted into parks, and placed in the trusteeship of the state historical society. Eventually the local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution expect to erect appropriately marked stone tablets in these parks.

The *Canadian Historical Review* is the latest recruit to the ranks of American historical magazines, the first number appearing under date of March, 1920. While new in this form, it is in a sense a continuation of the former annual *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada.* The format is similar to that of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* but a larger proportion of the space is devoted to book reviews and, in addition, each number contains a comprehensive and classified "List of Present Publications Relating to Canada." The managing editor is W. S. Wallace, University of Toronto Library, Toronto, Ontario.

War History Activities

Work of the Minnesota War Records Commission on the compilation of individual records of Minnesota soldiers, sailors, and marines now centers in efforts to arrange as rapidly as possible the thousands of service records which have been and are still being secured with the coöperation of the soldiers' bonus board. Only when this is done and the results are compared with those obtained by the county committees and other agencies can omissions be discovered and supplied on a large scale. The first step in the process, sorting the records by counties, is nearly completed, and work will soon commence upon the larger task of arranging the records of each county in alphabetical order and of making up check lists for use in the completion of both state and local files. In the meantime the St. Louis County branch of the commission, under the direction of the Honorable William E. Culkin of Duluth, chairman, is making a direct comparison between the state and local files for that county with the primary object of supplying omissions in the latter.

On the basis of lists compiled in connection with its presentation of memorial certificates to the next of kin of Minnesota gold star men, the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety is coöperating with the war records commission in the collection of records and portraits of all Minnesotans who lost their lives in the service. The former organization has prepared and commenced the distribution of printed forms designed to elicit from relatives and friends the biographical material required for a complete Minnesota "Gold Star Roll." These records when completed will be turned over to the war records commission.

A number of notable additions have been made to the commission's growing collection of original records of Minnesota war agencies. The Minnesota branch of the woman's committee of the Council of National Defense has turned over to the commission for permanent preservation its entire state headquarters file of correspondence, records, and papers evolved in the actual conduct of its many and important war activities. The Minneapolis branch of this organization has done the same with its local file and from the corresponding St. Paul organization, the

Council of Home Defense, the commission has received important material, including the records of an intensive survey of the city made early in 1919 for Americanization purposes. Other considerable bodies of organization records have been received from the Minnesota branches of the Jewish Welfare Board and the American Library Association. Also, under special authorization from national headquarters of the War Camp Community Service, the commission has taken over the greater part of the war-time files of its Minneapolis branch and will shortly receive those of the St. Paul branch. Not the least of the new acquisitions is a complete file of the headquarters records of the St. Paul council of the Boy Scouts of America covering the years 1914 to 1918.

A manuscript roster and record of Minnesota Jews in the service, which was used in preparing a similar roster for publication in the *American Jewish World* (Minneapolis) of September 26, 1919, has been filed with the commission by Mr. L. H. Frisch, managing editor of the *World*. The manuscript record was compiled by the office of war statistics of the American Jewish Committee, New York, and contains detailed information about individuals which is not included in the published roster.

The commission has been unusually fortunate of late in securing war records in the form of motion picture films. From Mrs. Arthur A. Law of Minneapolis has been received the eight reel film known to thousands of Minnesotans as the "Miles of Smiles" film. This picture, it will be remembered, represents, among other things, the war-time life and activities of Minneapolis; it was produced through the instrumentality of Mrs. Law and others for the purpose of bringing cheer to members of Base Hospital No. 26, the 151st United States Field Artillery, and other groups of Minnesotans at the front. Through the kindness of Mr. Merton E. Harrison of Minneapolis, former director of the war savings organization of the Ninth Federal Reserve District, the commission has received a print of "The Price of Victory" film, a picture illustrative of reconstruction work done at the United States Army General Hospital No. 29, Fort Snelling, and used extensively throughout the Northwest in connection with the Victory Loan campaign. Mr. Glen S.

Locker of Two Harbors, leader of the U. S. S. Iowa band when in the service, has presented a three hundred foot reel showing this band giving a noonday concert aboard the Iowa while the ship was at target practice in Chesapeake Bay.

Under the chairmanship of Colonel Hayden S. Cole of St. Paul, the Ramsey County War Records Committee has evolved into a strong organization with funds sufficient for an aggressive conduct of the work on a scale in some degree commensurate with the possibilities in view. Mr. Harry W. Oehler, a young St. Paul attorney, serves as executive secretary and conducts the work of the committee from his office at 712 Commerce Building. Special attention is now being given to the completion of the St. Paul and Ramsey County "Gold Star Roll" started some months ago by Mayor Hodgson, and to the collection of biographical sketches and portraits of the men there enrolled.

Through the efforts of the chairman, Dr. V. T. McHale of Henderson, the Sibley County War Records Committee has received an appropriation of three hundred dollars from the county board. The committee has opened headquarters, employed a secretary, and prepared a military service record form for local use, which is in some respects an improvement upon the state form after which it is modelled.

A trio of souvenir illustrated histories setting forth the parts played by the citizens of Pipestone, Nobles, and Rock counties *In the World War: 1917, 1918, 1919,* has been filed with similar works in the state war records collection, through the kindness of Mr. Edward R. Trebon of the Leader Publishing Company of Pipestone, the publishers. An interesting feature, not included in other county war histories previously noted in these pages, is the appearance in the Pipestone and Nobles histories of sections dealing with the organization of such local posts of the American Legion as had been established at the time of publication.

Among other material recently received by the state commission from Mr. Glen S. Locker of Two Harbors, chairman of the Lake County War Records Committee, is a copy of the "Victory Number" of the *Agate* published by the senior class of Two

Harbors High School in 1919. Instead of an annual commemorating the war services of teachers, alumni, and students of the local high school only, as might be expected, one finds what amounts to a record, and a very creditable record, of the parts played by the citizens of Two Harbors and Lake County in the war. In it appear rosters, records, and portraits of Lake County soldiers, sailors, marines, and civilian war work leaders, together with brief accounts of the personnel and activities of local war organizations. Among unique illustrative features may be noted a large number of facsimiles of war posters and cartoons and of Duluth and Two Harbors newspapers bearing announcements of the declaration of war, of the signing of the armistice, and of important intermediate events. According to an explanatory note by the publishers, much of the credit for the work is due to Miss Elizabeth Steichen, principal of the high school.

Among publications of service men's organizations which may be expected to supply material and open up important sources of information for the military phases of Minnesota's war history, the latest to appear are *Semper Fidelis,* official organ of the Minnesota Marine Club, published bimonthly beginning January 26, in Minneapolis; the *Post News,* official organ of the David Wisted Post No. 28 of the American Legion, Duluth, published bimonthly beginning January 24, and the *Minnesota Home Guard Legion Magazine,* published monthly in Minneapolis.

Former marines and others will welcome the appearance of a brief official history, in pamphlet form, of *The United States Marine Corps in the World War* (108 p.). The account was prepared by Major Edwin N. McClellan, officer in charge of the Marine Corps department of the historical division of the army, for the information of marines and the public pending the publication of a detailed and final history now in the course of preparation.

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MIDDLE WESTERN PIONEER DEMOCRACY[1]

In time of war, when all that this nation has stood for, all the things in which it passionately believes, are at stake, we have met to dedicate this beautiful home for history.

There is a fitness in the occasion. It is for historic ideals that we are fighting. If this nation is one for which we should pour out our savings, postpone our differences, go hungry, and even give up life itself, it is not because it is a rich, extensive, well-fed, and populous nation; it is because from its early days America has pressed onward toward a goal of its own; because it has followed an ideal, the ideal of a democracy developing under conditions unlike those of any other age or country.

We are fighting not for an Old World ideal, not for an abstraction, not for a philosophical revolution. Broad and generous as are our sympathies, widely scattered in origin as are our people, keenly as we feel the call of kinship, the thrill of sympathy with the stricken nations across the Atlantic, we are fighting for the historic ideals of the United States, for the continued existence of the type of society in which we believe because we have proved it good, for the things which drew European exiles to our shores and which inspired the hopes of the pioneers.

We are at war that the history of the United States, rich with the record of high human purposes and of faith in the destiny of the common man under freedom, filled with the promises of a better world, may not become the lost and tragic story of a futile dream. Yes, it is an American ideal and an American example for which we fight; but in that ideal and example lies medicine for the healing of the nations. It is the best we have to give to Europe, and it is a matter of vital

[1] Address delivered at the dedication of the Minnesota Historical Society building, St. Paul, May 11, 1918.

import that we shall safeguard and preserve our power to serve the world, and not be overwhelmed in the flood of imperialistic force that wills the death of democracy and would send the freeman under the yoke. Essential as are our contributions of wealth, the work of our scientists, the toil of our farmers and our workmen in factory and shipyard, priceless as is the stream of young American manhood which we pour forth to stop the flood which flows like moulten lava across the green fields and peaceful hamlets of Europe toward the sea and turns to ashes and death all that it covers, these contributions have their deeper meaning in the American spirit; they are born of the love of democracy.

Long ago in prophetic words Walt Whitman voiced the meaning of our present sacrifices:

Sail, sail thy best, ship of Democracy,
Of value is thy freight, 'tis not the Present only,
The Past is also stored in thee,
Thou holdest not the venture of thyself alone, not of the Western continent alone,
Earth's *résumé* entire floats on thy keel, O ship, is steadied by thy spars,
With thee Time voyages in trust, the antecedent nations sink or swim with thee,
With all their ancient struggles, martyrs, heroes, epics, wars, thou bear'st the other continents,
Theirs, theirs as much as thine, the destination-port triumphant.

Shortly before the Civil War, a great German, exiled from his native land for his love of freedom, came from his new home among the pioneers of the Middle West to set forth in Faneuil Hall, the "cradle of liberty," in Boston, his vision of the young America that was forming in the West, "the last depository of the hopes of all true friends of humanity." Speaking of the contrast between the migrations to the Mississippi Valley and those of the Old World in other centuries, he said:

It is now not a barbarous multitude pouncing upon old and decrepit empires; not a violent concussion of tribes accompanied by all the horrors of general destruction; but we see the vigorous elements of all nations . . . peaceably congregating and mingling together on virgin soil . . . led together by the irresistible attraction of free and broad principles; undertaking to commence a new era in the history of the world, without first destroying the results of the progress of past periods; undertaking to found a new cosmopolitan nation without marching over the dead bodies of slain millions.

If Carl Schurz had lived to see the outcome of that Germany from which he was sent as an exile, in the days when Prussian bayonets dispersed the legislatures and stamped out the beginnings of democratic rule in his former country, could he have better pictured the contrasts between the Prussian and the American spirit? He went on to say:

Thus was founded the *great colony of free humanity,* which has not old England alone, but the *world,* for its mother-country. . . . And in the colony of free humanity, whose mother-country is the world, they establish *the Republic of equal rights, where the title of manhood is the title to citizenship.* My friends, if I had a thousand tongues, and a voice strong as the thunder of heaven, they would not be sufficient to impress upon your minds forcibly enough the greatness of this idea, the overshadowing glory of this result. This was the dream of the truest friends of man from the beginning; for this the noblest blood of martyrs has been shed; for this has mankind waded through seas of blood and tears. There it is now; there it stands, the noble fabric in all the splendor of reality.

It is in a solemn and inspiring time, therefore, that we meet to dedicate this building, and the occasion is fitting to the time. We may now see, as never before, the deeper significance, the larger meaning of these pioneers, whose plain lives and homely annals are glorified as a part of the story of the building of a better system of social justice under freedom, a broader, and as we fervently hope, a more enduring foundation for the welfare and progress under liberty of the com-

mon man, an example of federation, of peaceful adjustments by compromise and concession under the system of self-government, in which sections replace nations over a union as large as Europe, party discussions take the place of warring countries, and the *Pax Americana* furnishes an example for a better world.

As our forefathers, the pioneers, gathered in their neighborhood to raise the log cabin, and sanctified it by the name of home, the dwelling place of pioneer ideals, so we meet to celebrate the raising of this home, this shrine of Minnesota's historic life. It symbolizes the conviction that the past and the future of this people are tied together; that this historical society is the keeper of the records of a noteworthy movement in the progress of mankind; that these records are not unmeaning and antiquarian, but even in their details are worthy of preservation for their revelation of the beginnings of society in the midst of a nation caught by the vision of a better future for the world.

Harriet Martineau, the English traveller, who portrayed the America of the thirties exclaimed:

> I regard the American people as a great embryo poet, now moody, now wild, but bringing out results of absolute good sense; restless and wayward in action, but with deep peace at his heart; exulting that he has caught the true aspect of things past and the depth of futurity which lies before him, wherein to create something so magnificent as the world has scarcely begun to dream of. There is the strongest hope of a nation that is capable of being possessed with an idea.

And she appealed to the American people to "cherish their high democratic hope, their faith in man. The older they grow the more they must reverence the dreams of their youth."

The dreams of their youth! Here they shall be preserved, together with the achievements as well as the aspirations of the men who made the state, the men who built on their foun-

dations, the men with large vision and power of action, the lesser men in the mass, the leaders who served the state and nation with devotion to the cause, the men who failed to see the larger vision and worked impatiently with narrow or selfish or class ends as well as those who worked with patience and sympathy and mutual concession, with readiness to make adjustments and to subordinate their immediate interests to the larger good and the immediate safety of the nation.

In the archives of such an old institution as that of the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose treasures run to the beginnings of Puritan colonization, the student cannot fail to find the evidence that a state historical society is a Book of Judgment wherein is made up the record of a people and its leaders; and so as time unfolds shall be the collections of this society, the depository of the material that shall preserve the memory of this people. Each section of this widely extended and varied nation has its own peculiar past, its special form of society, its traits and its leaders. It were a pity if any section left its annals solely to the collectors of a remote region, and it were a pity if its collections were not transformed into printed documents and monographic studies which can go to the libraries of all parts of the union and thus enable the student to see the nation as a whole in its past as well as in its present.

This society finds its special field of activity in a great state of the Middle West, so new, as history reckons time, that its annals are still predominantly those of the pioneers, but so rapidly growing that already the era of the pioneers is one that is a part of the history of the past, capable of being handled objectively, seen in a perspective that is not possible to the observer of present conditions.

Because of these facts I have taken as the special theme of this address "Middle Western Pioneer Democracy," which I would sketch in some of its outstanding aspects in the large, and chiefly in the generation before the Civil War, for it was from the pioneers of that period that the later colonizers to

the newer parts of the Mississippi Valley derived many of their traits and drew a large proportion of their ranks.

The North Central states as a whole occupy a region comparable to all of Central Europe. Of these states, a large part of the Old Northwest, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and their sisters beyond the Mississippi, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota were still, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the home of an essentially pioneer society. Within the lifetime of many living men, Wisconsin was called the "Far West," and Minnesota was a land of the Indian and the fur-trader, a wilderness of forest and prairie beyond the "edge of cultivation." That portion of this great region which was still in the pioneering period of settlement by 1850 was alone about as extensive as the old thirteen states, or Germany and Austria-Hungary combined. The region was a huge geographic mould for a new society, modeled by nature on the scale of the Great Lakes, the Ohio Valley, the upper Mississippi and the Missouri. Simple and majestic in its vast outlines it was graven into a variety that in its details also had a largeness of design. From the Great Lakes extended the massive glacial sheet which covered that mighty basin and laid down treasures of soil. Vast forests of pine shrouded its upper zone, breaking into hardwood and oak openings as they neared the ocean-like expanses of the prairies. Forests again along the Ohio Valley, and beyond lay the levels of the Great Plains. Within the earth were unexploited treasures of coal and lead and iron in such form and quantity as were to revolutionize the industrial processes of the world. But nature's revelations are progressive, and it was rather the marvelous adaptation of the soil to the raising of corn and wheat that drew the first pioneers to this land of promise and made a new era of colonization. In the unity with variety of this pioneer empire and in its broad levels we have a promise of its society.

First had come the children of the interior of the South, and with ax and rifle in hand had cut their clearings in the forest, raised their log cabins, fought the Indians, and by 1830 had pushed their way to the very edge of the prairies along the Ohio and Missouri valleys, leaving unoccupied most of the basin of the Great Lakes.

These slashers of the forest, these self-sufficing pioneers, raising the corn and livestock for their own need, living scattered and apart, had at first small interest in town life or in markets. They were individualists, to whom government was a necessary evil, to be held to its narrowest bounds in order that the pioneer might do his work with the minimum of restraint. They were passionately devoted to the ideal of equality, but it was an ideal which assumed that under free conditions in the midst of unlimited resources, the homogeneous society of the pioneers must result in equality. What they objected to was arbitrary obstacles, artificial limitations upon the freedom of each member of this frontier folk to work out his own career without fear or favor. What they instinctively opposed was the crystallization of differences, the monopolization of opportunity and the fixing of that monopoly by government or by social customs. The road must be open. The game must be played according to the rules. There must be no artificial stifling of equality of opportunity, no closed doors to the able, no stopping the game before it was played to the end. More than that, there was an unformulated, perhaps, but very real feeling, that mere success in the game, by which the abler men were able to achieve preëminence, gave to the successful ones no right to look down upon their neighbors, no vested title to assert superiority as a matter of pride and to the diminution of the equal right and dignity of the less successful.

If this democracy of southern pioneers, this Jacksonian democracy, was, as its socialist critics have called it, in reality a democracy of "expectant capitalists," it was not one which expected or acknowledged on the part of the successful ones

the right to harden their triumphs into the rule of a privileged class. In short, if it is indeed true that the backwoods democracy was based upon equality of opportunity it is also true that it resented the conception that opportunity under competition should result in hopeless inequality or rule of class. Ever a new clearing must be possible. And because the wilderness seemed so unending, the menace to the enjoyment of this ideal seemed rather to be feared from government, within or without, than from the operations of internal evolution.

From the first, it became evident that these men had means of supplementing their individual activity by informal combinations. One of the things that impressed all early travelers in the United States was the capacity for extralegal, voluntary association. This was natural enough. In all America we can study the process by which in a new land social customs form and crystallize into law. We can even see how the personal leader becomes the governmental official. This power of the pioneers to join together for a common end without the intervention of governmental institutions was one of their marked characteristics. The logrolling, the house raising, the husking bee, the apple paring, the camp meeting, and the association of squatters whereby they protected themselves against the speculators in securing title to their clearings on the public domain, are a few of the indications of this attitude. It is well to emphasize this American trait, because in a modified way it has come to be one of the most characteristic and important features of the United States of today. America does through informal association and understandings on the part of the people many of the things which in the Old World are and can be done only by governmental intervention and compulsion.

The actions of these associations had an authority akin to that of law. They were usually not so much evidences of a disrespect for law and order as the only means by which real law and order were possible in a region where settlement and

society had gone in advance of the institutions and instrumentalities of organized society.

Because of these elements of individualistic competition and the power of spontaneous association, the backwoodsmen were responsive to leadership. They knew that under the free opportunities of his life the abler man would reveal himself and show them the way. By free choice and not by compulsion, by spontaneous impulse, and not by the domination of a caste, they rallied around a cause, they supported an issue. They yielded to the principle of government by agreement, and they hated the doctrine of autocracy even before it gained a name. They looked forward to the extension of their American principles to the Old World and their keenest apprehensions came from the possibility of the extension of the Old World's system of arbitrary rule, its class wars and rivalries and interventions to the destruction of the free states and democratic institutions which they were building in the forests of America. They were of a stock which sought new trails and were ready to follow where the trail led, innovators in society as well as finders of new lands.

If we add to these aspects of early backwoods democracy, its spiritual qualities, we shall more easily understand them. These men were emotional. As they wrested their clearings from the woods and from the savages who surrounded them, as they expanded these clearings and saw the beginnings of commonwealths where only little communities had been, and as they saw these commonwealths touch hands with each other along the great course of the Mississippi River, they became enthusiastically optimistic and confident of the continued expansion of this democracy. They had faith in themselves and their destiny. And that optimistic faith was responsible both for their confidence in their own ability to rule and for the passion for expansion. They looked to the future. "Others appeal to history: an American appeals to prophecy; and with Malthus in one hand and a map of the back country in the other, he boldly defies us to a comparison with America as she

is to be," said a London periodical in 1821. Just because, perhaps, of the usual isolation of their lives, when they came together in associations whether of the camp meeting or of the political gathering, they felt the influence of a common emotion and enthusiasm. Mr. Bryce has aptly said that the Southern upland folk have a "high religious voltage." Whether Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist, these people saturated their religion and their politics with feeling. Both the stump and the pulpit were centers of energy, electric cells capable of starting widespreading fires. They felt both their religion and their democracy, and were ready to fight for them.

This democracy was one that involved a real feeling of social comradeship among its widespread members. Justice Catron who came from Arkansas to the Supreme Court in the presidency of Jackson said: "The people of New Orleans and St. Louis are next neighbors—if we desire to know a man in any quarter of the union we inquire of our next neighbor who but the other day lived by him." Exaggerated as this is, it nevertheless had a surprising measure of truth for the Middle West as well. For the Mississippi River was the great highway down which groups of pioneers like Abraham Lincoln, on their rafts and flat boats, brought the little neighborhood surplus. After the steamboat came to the western waters the voyages up and down, by merchants and by farmers shifting their homes, brought people into contact with each other over wide areas. This enlarged neighborhood democracy was not determined by a reluctant admission that under the law one man was as good as another; it was based upon "good fellowship," sympathy, and understanding.

By 1830 the southern inundation ebbed and a different tide flowed in from the Northeast by way of the Erie Canal and steam navigation on the Great Lakes to occupy the zone unreached by southern settlement. This new tide spread along the margins of the Great Lakes, found the oak openings and small prairie islands of southern Michigan and Wisconsin,

followed the fertile forested ribbons along the river courses far into the prairie lands, and by the end of the forties began to venture into the margin of the open prairie.

In 1830 the Middle West contained a little over one and a half million people; in 1840, over three and a third million; in 1850, nearly five and a half million. Although in 1830 the North Atlantic states numbered between three and four times as many people as the Middle West, yet in those two decades the Middle West made an actual gain of several hundred thousand more than did the old section. Counties in the newer states rose from a few hundred to ten or fifteen thousand people in the space of less than five years. Suddenly, with astonishing rapidity and volume, a new people was forming with varied elements, ideals, and institutions drawn from all over this nation and from Europe. They were confronted with the problem of adjusting different stocks, varied social customs and habits, to their new home.

In comparison with the Ohio Valley, the peculiarity of the occupation of the northern zone of the Middle West lay in the fact that the native element was predominantly from the older settlements of the Middle West itself and from New York and New England. But it was from the central and western counties of New York and from the western and northern parts of New England, the rural regions of declining agricultural prosperity, that the bulk of this element came. That is, it was a migration of Yankees, in different degrees removed from the original Puritan stock, according as the original stock had been modified by settlement in (1) New England's back country, (2) New York, or (3) the older Middle West itself. Each of these modified Puritan areas contributed its own characteristics.

Thus the influence of the Middle West stretched into the Northeast and attracted a farming population already suffering from western competition. The advantages of abundant, fertile, and cheap land, the richer agricultural returns, and

especially the opportunities for youth to rise in all the trades and professions gave strength to this competition.

This Yankee stock carried with it a habit of the community life, in contrast with the individualistic democracy of the southern element. The colonizing land companies, the town, the school, the church, the feeling of local unity, furnished the evidences of this instinct for communities. This instinct was accompanied by the feeling for industrial development. It was accompanied by the creation of cities, the production of a surplus for market, the reaching out to connections with the trading centers of the East, the evolution of a more complex and at the same time a more integrated industrial society than that of the southern pioneer.

But the Yankees did not carry with them the unmodified New England institutions and traits. They came from the people who were less satisfied with the old order than were their neighbors in the East. They were the young men with initiative, with discontent; and the New York element especially was affected by the radicalism of Locofoco Democracy, which was in itself a protest against the established order.

The winds of the prairies swept away almost at once a mass of old habits and prepossessions. Said one of these pioneers in a letter to friends in the East:

> If you value ease more than money or prosperity, don't come. . . . Hands are too few for the work, houses for the inhabitants, and days for the day's work to be done. . . . Next, if you can't stand seeing your old New England ideas, ways of doing, and living and in fact, all of the good old Yankee fashions knocked out of shape and altered, or thrown by as unsuited to the climate, don't be caught out here. But if you can bear grief with a smile, can put up with a scale of accommodations ranging from the soft side of a plank before the fire (and perhaps three in a bed at that) down through the middling and inferior grades; if you are never at a loss for ways to do the most unpracticable things without tools; if you can do all this and some more come on. . . . It is a universal rule here to help one another, each one keeping an eye single to his own interest.

These pioneers knew that they were leaving many dear associations of the old home, giving up many of the comforts of life, sacrificing things which those who remained thought too vital to civilization to be left. But they were not mere materialists ready to surrender all that life is worth for immediate gain. They were idealists themselves, sacrificing the ease of the immediate future for the welfare of their children, and convinced of the possibility of helping to bring about a better social order and a freer life. They were social idealists. But they based their ideals on trust in the common man and their readiness to make adjustments, not on the rule of a benevolent despot or a controlling class.

The attraction of this new home reached also into the Old World and gave new hopes and new impulses to the people of Germany, of England, of Ireland, and of Scandinavia. Both economic influences and revolutionary discontent promoted German migration at this time; economic causes brought the larger volume, but the quest for liberty brought the leaders, many of whom were German political exiles. While the latter urged, with varying degrees of emphasis, that their own contribution should be preserved in their new surroundings, and a few visionaries even talked of a German state in the federal system, what was noteworthy was the adjustment of the immigrants of the thirties and forties to middle western conditions, the response to the opportunity to create a new type of society in which all gave and all received and no element remained isolated. Society was plastic. In the midst of more or less antagonism between "bowie knife Southerners," "cow-milking Yankee Puritans," "beer-drinking Germans," and "wild Irishmen," a process of mutual education, a giving and taking, was at work. In the outcome, in spite of slowness of assimilation where different groups were compact and isolated from the others, and a certain persistence of inherited morale, there was the creation of a new type, which was neither the sum of all its elements nor a complete fusion in a melting pot.

The people of the Middle West were American pioneers, not outlying fragments of New England or Germany or Norway.

The Germans were most strongly represented in the Missouri Valley, in St. Louis, in Illinois opposite that city, and in the lake shore counties of eastern Wisconsin north from Milwaukee. In Cincinnati and Cleveland there were many Germans, while in nearly half the counties of Ohio the German immigrants and the Pennsylvania Germans held nearly or quite a balance of political power. The Irish came primarily as workers on turnpikes, canals, and railroads, and tended to remain along such lines, or to gather in the growing cities. The Scandinavians, of whom the largest proportion were Norwegians, founded their colonies in northern Illinois and in southern Wisconsin about the Fox and the headwaters of the Rock River, whence in later years they spread into Iowa, Minnesota, and North Dakota.

By 1850 about one-sixth of the people of the Middle West were of North-Atlantic birth, about one-eighth of southern birth, and á like fraction of foreign birth, of whom the Germans were twice as numerous as the Irish, and the Scandinavians only slightly more numerous than the Welsh and fewer than the Scotch. There were only a dozen Scandinavians in Minnesota. The natives of the British Isles, together with the natives of British North America in the Middle West, numbered nearly as many as the natives of German lands. But in 1850 almost three-fifths of the population were natives of the Middle West itself, and over a third of the population lived in Ohio. The cities were especially a mixture of peoples. In the five larger cities of the section natives and foreigners were nearly balanced. In Chicago the Irish, Germans, and natives of the North Atlantic states about equalled each other. But in all the other cities, the Germans exceeded the Irish in varying proportions. There were nearly three to one in Milwaukee.

It is not merely that the section was growing rapidly and was made up of various stocks with many different cultures,

sectional and European; what is more significant is that these elements did not remain as separate strata underneath an established ruling order, as was the case particularly in New England. All were accepted as intermingling components of a forming society, plastic and absorptive. This characteristic of the section as a "good mixer" became fixed before the large immigrations of the eighties. The foundations of the section were laid firmly in a period when the foreign elements were particularly free and eager to contribute to a new society and to receive an impress from the country which offered them a liberty denied abroad. Significant as is this fact, and influential in the solution of America's present problems, it is no more important than the fact that in the decade before the Civil War the southern element in the Middle West had also had nearly two generations of direct association with the northern, and had finally been engulfed in a tide of northeastern and Old World settlers.

In this society of pioneers men learned to drop their old national animosities. One of the immigrant guides of the fifties urged the newcomers to abandon their racial animosities. "The American laughs at these steerage quarrels," said the author.

Thus the Middle West was teaching the lesson of national cross-fertilization instead of national enmities, the possibility of a newer and richer civilization attained, not by preserving unmodified or isolated the old component elements, but by breaking down the line fences, by merging the individual life in the common product—a new product, which held the promise of world brotherhood. If the pioneers divided their allegiance between various parties, Whig, Democrat, Free Soil, or Republican, it does not follow that the western Whig was like the eastern Whig. There was an infiltration of a western quality into all of these. The western Whig supported Harrison even more because he was a pioneer than because he was a Whig. He saw in him a legitimate successor of Andrew Jackson. The campaign of 1840 was a middle

western camp meeting on a huge scale. The log cabins, the cider, and the coonskins were the symbols of the triumph of middle western ideas, and were carried with misgivings by the merchants, the bankers, and the manufacturers of the East. In like fashion, the middle western wing of the Democratic party was as different from the southern wing, wherein lay its strength, as Douglas was from Calhoun. It had little in common with the slaveholding classes of the South, even though it felt the kinship of the pioneer with the people of the southern upland stock from which so many westerners were descended.

In the later forties and early fifties most of the middle western states made constitutions. The debates in their conventions and the results embodied in the constitutions themselves tell the story of their political ideals. Of course, they based the franchise on the principle of manhood suffrage. But they also provided for an elective judiciary, for restrictions on the borrowing power of the state lest it fall under the control of what they feared as the money power, and several of them either provided for the extinguishment of banks of issue or rigidly restrained them. Some of them exempted the homestead from forced sale for debt; married women's legal rights were prominent topics in the debates of the conventions; and Wisconsin led off by permitting the alien to vote after a year's residence. The newcomer was welcomed to the freedom and to the obligations of American citizenship.

Although this pioneer society was preponderantly an agricultural society it was rapidly learning that agriculture alone was not sufficient for its life. It was developing manufactures, trade, mining, the professions, and was becoming conscious that in a progressive modern state it was possible to pass from one industry to another and that all were bound by common ties. But it is significant that in the census of 1850, Ohio, out of a population of two millions, reported only a thousand servants, Iowa only ten in two hundred thousand, and Minnesota fifteen in its six thousand.

In the intellectual life of this new democracy there was already the promise of original contributions even in the midst of the engrossing toil and hard life of the pioneer.

The country editor was a leader of his people, not a patent-insides recorder of social functions but a vigorous and independent thinker and writer. The subscribers to the newspaper published in the section were higher in proportion to population than in the state of New York and not greatly inferior to those of New England, although such eastern papers as the *New York Tribune* had an extensive circulation throughout the Middle West. The agricultural press presupposed in its articles and contributions a level of general intelligence and interest above that of the later farmers of the section, at least before the present day.

Farmer boys walked behind the plow with book in hand and sometimes forgot to turn at the end of the furrow; boys like the young Howells, who "limped barefoot by his father's side with his eyes on the cow and his mind on Cervantes and Shakespeare."

Periodicals flourished and faded like the prairie flowers. Some of Emerson's best poems first appeared in one of these magazines, published in the Ohio Valley. But for the most part the literature of the region and the period was imitative or reflective of the common things in a not uncommon way. It was to its children that the Middle West had to look for an expression of its life and its ideals rather than to the busy pioneer who was breaking a prairie farm or building up a new community. Illiteracy was least among the Yankee pioneers and highest among the southern element.

The influence of New England men was strong in the Yankee regions of the Middle West. Home missionaries and representatives of societies for the promotion of education in the West, both in the common schools and the denominational colleges, scattered themselves throughout the region and left a deep impress in all these states. The conception was firmly fixed in the thirties and forties that the West was the coming

power in the Union, that the fate of civilization was in its hands, and, therefore, rival sects and rival sections strove to influence it to their own types. But the Middle West shaped all these educational contributions according to its own needs and ideals.

The state universities were for the most part the results of agitation and proposals of men of New England origin; but they became characteristic products of middle western society, with the community as a whole rather than wealthy benefactors supporting them and, in the end, determining their directions in accord with popular ideals. They reached down more deeply into the ranks of the common people than did the New England or middle state colleges; they laid more emphasis upon the obviously useful and became coeducational at an early date.

Challenging the vast spaces of the West, struck by the rapidity with which a new society was unfolding under their gaze, it is not strange that the pioneers dealt in the superlative and saw their destiny with optimistic eyes. The meadow lot of the small intervale had become the prairie stretching farther than their gaze could reach.

All was motion and change. A restlessness was universal. Men moved, in their single lives, from Vermont to New York, from New York to Ohio, from Ohio to Wisconsin, from Wisconsin to California, and then longed for the Hawaiian Islands. When the bark started from their fence rails, they felt the call to change. They were conscious of the mobility of their society and gloried in it. They broke with the past and thought to create something finer, more fitting for humanity, more beneficial for the average man than the world had ever seen.

"With the Past we have literally nothing to do," said B. Gratz Brown in a Missouri Fourth of July oration in 1850, "save to dream of it. Its lessons are lost and its tongue is silent. We are ourselves at the head and front of all political experience. Precedents have lost their virtue and all their

authority is gone. . . . Experience . . . can profit us only to guard from antequated delusions."

"The yoke of opinion," wrote Channing to a western friend, speaking of New England, "is a heavy one, often crushing individuality of judgment and action," and he added that the habits, rules, and criticisms under which he had grown up had not left him the freedom and courage which are needed in the style of address best suited to the western people. Channing no doubt unduly stressed the freedom of the West in this respect. The frontier had its own conventions and prejudices, and New England was breaking its own cake of custom and proclaiming a new liberty at the very time he wrote. But there was truth in the eastern thought of the West as a land of intellectual toleration, one which questioned the old order of things and made innovation its very creed.

The West laid emphasis upon the practical and demanded that ideals should be put to work for useful ends; ideals were tested by their direct contributions to the betterment of the average man, rather than by the production of the man of exceptional genius and distinction.

For, in fine, this was the goal of the Middle West: the welfare of the average man; not only the man of the South or of the East, the Yankee or the Irishman or the German, but all men in one common fellowship. This was the hope of their youth, of that youth when Abraham Lincoln rose from rail-splitter to country lawyer, from Illinois legislator to congressman, and from congressman to president.

> His was no lonely mountain peak of mind,
> Thrusting to thin air o'er our cloudy bars,
> A sea mark now, now lost in vapor blind;
> Broad prairie rather, genial, level lined,
> Fruitful and friendly for all human kind,
> Yet also nigh to heaven and loved of loftiest stars
> Nothing of Europe here,
> Or, then, of Europe fronting mornward still,
> Ere any names of serf and peer

Could Nature's equal scheme deface
And thwart her genial will;
. . . . . .
New birth of our new soil, the first American.

It is not strange that in all this flux and freedom and novelty and vast spaces, the pioneers did not sufficiently consider the need of disciplined devotion to the government which they themselves created and operated. But the name of Lincoln and the response of the pioneers to the duties of the Civil War, to the sacrifices and the restraints on freedom which it entailed under his presidency, reminds us that they knew how to take part in a common cause, even while they knew that war's conditions were destructive of many of the things for which they worked.

There are two kinds of governmental discipline: that which proceeds from free choice in the conviction that restraint of individual or class interests is necessary for the common good, and that which is imposed by a dominant class upon a subjected and helpless people. The latter is Prussian discipline, the discipline of a harsh, machine-like, logical organization, based on the rule of a military autocracy. It assumes that if you do not crush your opponent first, he will crush you. It is the discipline of a nation ruled by its general staff, assuming war as the normal condition of peoples, and attempting with remorseless logic to extend its operations to the destruction of freedom everywhere. It can only be met by the discipline of a people who use their own government for worthy ends, who preserve individuality and mobility in society and respect the rights of others, who follow the dictates of humanity and fair play, the principles of give and take. The Prussian discipline is the discipline of Thor, the war god, against the discipline of the white Christ.

Pioneer democracy has had to learn lessons by experience: the lesson that government on principles of free democracy can accomplish many things which the men of the middle of the nineteenth century did not realize as even possible. They

have had to sacrifice something of their passion for individual unrestraint; they have had to learn that the specially trained man, the man fitted for his calling by education and experience, whether in the field of science or of industry, has a place in government; that the rule of the people is effective and enduring only as it incorporates the trained specialist into the organization of that government, whether as umpire between contending interests or as the efficient instrument in the hands of democracy. Organized democracy after the era of free land has learned not only that popular government to be successful must be legitimately the choice of the whole people, not only that the offices of that government must be open to all, but that in the fierce struggle of nations in the field of economic competition and in the field of war the salvation and perpetuity of the Republic depend upon recognition of the fact that the specialization of the organs of the government, the choice of the fit and the capable for office, is quite as important as the extension of popular control. When we lost our free lands and our isolation from the Old World, we lost our immunity from the results of mistakes, of waste, of inefficiency, and of inexperience in our government.

But in the present day we are also learning another lesson which was better known to the pioneers than to their immediate successors. We are learning that the distinction arising from devotion to the interests of the commonwealth is a higher distinction than mere success in economic competition. America is now awarding laurels to the men who sacrifice their triumphs in the rivalry of business in order to give their service to the cause of a liberty-loving nation, their wealth and their genius to the success of her ideals. That craving for distinction which once drew men to pile up wealth and exhibit power over the industrial processes of the nation, is now finding a new outlet in the craving for distinction that comes from service to the Union, in satisfaction in the use of great talent for the good of the Republic.

And all over the nation in voluntary organizations for aid to the government is being shown the pioneer principle of association that was expressed in the pioneers' "raising." It is shown in the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the councils and boards of science, commerce, labor, agriculture; and in all the countless other types, from the association of women, who in their kitchens carry out the recommendations of the food director and revive the plain living of the pioneer, to the Boy Scouts, who are laying the foundations for a self-disciplined and virile generation worthy to follow the trail of the backwoodsmen. It is an inspiring prophesy of the revival of the old pioneer conception of the obligations and opportunities of neighborliness broadening to a national and even to an international scope, a promise of what that wise and lamented philosopher, Josiah Royce, called "the beloved community." In the spirit of the pioneer's house raising lies the salvation of the Republic.

This, then, is the heritage of pioneer experience—a passionate belief that a democracy was possible which should leave the individual a part to play in free society and not make him a cog in a machine operated from above; which trusted in the common man, in his tolerance, his ability to adjust differences with good humor and to work out an American type from the contributions of all nations, a type for which he would fight against those who challenged it in arms, and for which in time of war he would make sacrifices, even the temporary sacrifice of his individual freedom, lest that freedom be lost forever.

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THE DEDICATION AUDIENCE

[Minnesota Historical Society Building, May 11, 1920.]

EXERCISES AT THE DEDICATION OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL BUILDING

The arrangements for the dedication of the building erected by the state of Minnesota for the use of the Minnesota Historical Society were initiated at a meeting of the council of the society on December 10, 1917, by the appointment of a special committee on dedication. This committee was composed of Messrs. Charles P. Noyes, chairman, Everett H. Bailey, Solon J. Buck, Frederic A. Fogg, and Frederick G. Ingersoll, who, as members of the executive committee for the triennium 1915–18, had had charge of the society's interests in connection with the erection of the building. Since the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was to hold its annual meeting in St. Paul on May 9, 10, and 11, 1918, the committee decided to arrange for the dedication exercises to be held on Saturday, May 11, in conjunction with that meeting. The date selected was peculiarly appropriate as it was the sixtieth anniversary of the admission of the state of Minnesota to the Union.

The pioneer associations, hereditary patriotic societies, and leading educational institutions of Minnesota and all the prominent historical societies of the country were invited to be represented by delegates at the dedication; and special invitations were sent to a number of citizens and relatives of citizens who had played a prominent part in the history of the state or had rendered special services to the society. The presence of many such delegates and specially invited people together with that of the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association resulted in a notable gathering of distinguished men and women.

The sessions of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, most of which were held in the Historical Building, closed with a luncheon on Saturday noon; and the first ses-

sion of the dedicatory exercises began at three o'clock in the reading room, the tables having been removed and a platform erected at the east end. This room was selected because it is the largest in the building, but it was filled to overflowing in a very few minutes after the doors were opened. The session was presided over by Mr. Charles P. Noyes, president of the society from 1915 to 1918 and chairman of the building and dedication committees. He opened the program with the following remarks:

The date for this celebration of the opening of our new building seems to have been happily chosen, as it is the sixtieth anniversary of Minnesota's admission to the Union as a state, and it coincides with the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, whose members are our guests. It is a pleasure to have them with us today, and also to have many state and local historical societies, the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers, and other societies and institutions represented by delegates.

The Minnesota Historical Society was organized in 1849, under territorial charter, and for many years has looked forward to having a building of its own. A fund was gradually accumulated for the purchase of such a building, in the event of the society having to build for itself. This, however, was not a large sum, and it would have been many years before the society itself could have built a proper home. When the present Capitol was built, rooms were provided for the society in the basement and these served our purpose for some years. In 1913 the legislature, recognizing the need, made a very generous provision, an appropriation of five hundred thousand dollars, for the building, the society agreeing to pay seventy-five thousand dollars for the purchase of a site and for furnishing the building. The site first selected by the board of control, and approved by the society, was purchased from this fund at a cost of thirty-five thousand dollars. The title was acquired by the state, and the state still owns the property. Before plans for the building had been perfected, it was recognized by the board of control and the society that a mistake had been made in the selection of the first site, and the legislature was asked to, and did, amend the bill, so as to provide

for the erection of a building upon a site to be selected by the society. We chose the site upon which this building stands and paid for it out of our fund above referred to. The amount available for furnishing and equipping the building was thereby materially reduced; but in view of the fact that, at the request of Governor Hammond, we relinquished a very substantial part of our building to the state department of education we were relieved from the necessity of furnishing the entire building. If the society is to accomplish in full measure the purpose for which it was organized and is to be permitted to carry out its plans for serving the people of the state, it will soon need the space in this building occupied by the department of education. In the meantime, we expect that the state will sell, or devote to other uses, the old site purchased with thirty-five thousand dollars of our money, and will turn that sum back to us to be used for furnishing and equipping those quarters, when they become available, and for extending the work of the society.

We wish to express our appreciation to many of the members of the legislature for the efficient service they rendered in procuring this appropriation, as without their aid it could not have been accomplished. We are also gratified that the use of Minnesota granite and other Minnesota material was required, as the result has been most satisfactory.

Mr. Clarence Johnston, the state architect, was the natural choice in our selection of an architect, and the choice has proved most fortunate. Mr. Johnston undoubtedly congratulates himself on the fact that he was not hampered in his design of the building by either the board or the committee, so that he had a free hand, limited only by the amount of the appropriation. Credit for the beauty and symmetry of the building is entirely due to him. Your committee congratulate themselves that their architect was in full sympathy with them, and especially with our superintendent, to whom also we owe our grateful acknowledgment for the careful preparation of the plans and provisions required in adapting the building to our uses. As a result we have one of the best public buildings in the state, and probably the best designed for utility.

I have heard it said that if, when your house is finished, you and your architect are on speaking terms, it speaks well for both.

We are happy to say that our relations have never been strained, and perfect harmony has prevailed in our conferences. The same may be said with respect to all our dealings with the board of control, which has shown us every consideration and courtesy. These are matters of real importance, and should be recognized, as they have had such a marked effect upon the success of the work.

At the conclusion of his remarks Mr. Noyes introduced the Honorable Ralph Wheelock, chairman of the state board of control, which had charge of the erection of the building. Mr. Wheelock spoke as follows:

It is particularly significant that the dedication of this splendid building should occur in the midst of the greatest history-making epoch since the world began. The history of a state or a nation is not made up of disconnected incidents, but constitutes a series of related events which, to be read aright and thoroughly understood, must be accurately set down and intelligently discussed; and an organization like the Minnesota Historical Society affords the most effective means for such an undertaking. The history of Minnesota, as brought up to date, develops the ideals and purposes of its citizenship and furnishes inspiration and practical encouragement for its future successful growth. To the extent, therefore, of having been the agency through which this building has been erected, the board of control feels a justifiable pride in its construction and joins today with all the other agencies interested in this, its formal dedication.

A brief résumé of the legislative action out of which this edifice became possible, may be of interest. On March 19, 1913, Representative Orr, of St. Paul, introduced the original bill for "An Act to provide for the erection of and the acquiring of a site for a building for the use of the Minnesota historical society and the supreme court and the state library of the state of Minnesota and for purposes connected with the said society, court and library." This bill passed the House by a vote of seventy-nine to twenty and the Senate by a vote of forty to five. It was finally approved and signed by the governor on April 25, 1913.

The sum of five hundred thousand dollars was appropriated for the building, to be raised by the sale of building certificates, the state treasury to be reimbursed by a special tax levied and collected with other state taxes sufficient to provide a sum of fifty thousand dollars a year on account of the principal and the interest on the unpaid building certificates until all certificates were paid up. The bill also provided that the building should be made to harmonize, so far as practicable, with the present Capitol, and that Minnesota building stone should be used exclusively unless it appeared that a combination existed to raise prices of said building material; also that Minnesota labor (including the architect) should be employed. One section provided for the acceptance by the state of the seventy-five thousand dollars offered by the historical society, said donation to be used solely in securing a proper site for the building, in equipping and furnishing that portion of it to be used by the society, and in installing its library, museum, and other departments and exhibits. This section also provided for the acceptance by the state of future donations for the same purpose.

To carry into effect certain desired changes in the law, a bill was introduced at the session of the legislature in 1915 by Senator Duxbury, of Houston County. This bill went through both houses by large majorities, with no unnecessary delay, and on April 19 was finally approved and signed by the governor.

The changes effected in the original law by this act are briefly as follows. Section 1 was amended to provide that the building should be "for and adapted to the use of the Minnesota historical society and for the care, preservation and protection of the State Archives. Provided that any part of said building not in use or actually needed for purposes of said society may be used for other state purposes under the direction of the Governor." To section 3, which empowered the board of control to condemn lands for the building, was added a clause providing that in the event the society should "purchase and convey or cause to be conveyed to the state . . . a site for such building, located near the present capitol building," then the building should be erected upon that site. To section 8, which provided for acceptance by the state of the donation by the society, was added an amendment which recited the fact that the society had already paid

thirty-five thousand dollars into the state treasury for the purchase of the site originally selected, and declared that if the society should provide and present to the state other grounds for the location of the building, the amount actually paid therefor should be credited to the society upon its donation.

Following this legislation the present site was secured, the plans were drawn by the state architect, Mr. Clarence H. Johnston, of St. Paul; and after they had been approved by the executive committee of the society, the contract for construction was let by the board of control on November 30, 1915. Within two years from that date the building was virtually completed and ready for occupancy, making a record in the history of public building construction in the state.

As the building now stands, it is a monument: first, to the intelligent and indefatigable efforts of the officers and members of the society in creating the necessary public spirit to induce legislative action; second, to the patriotism and public spirit of Minnesota's citizenship, as expressed by the prompt and practical action of two successive legislatures, as already noted; and third, to the artistic skill of the state architect, to the effective supervision by the architectural and engineering departments, and to the hearty and harmonious coöperation of the board of control and the executive committee of the historical society through the entire period of the construction of the building.

Today the practical responsibility of the board of control comes to an end, although as a component part of the state administration it will continue to have a live interest in the purposes for which this structure stands. Therefore, on behalf of the state board of control, I have the honor to turn over this building to the Governor of the state, through his representative, Mr. C. G. Schulz, for ten years or more the head of the department of education, itself one of the most vital history-making branches of the state government. I have the honor to introduce Mr. Schulz, who will accept the building on behalf of Governor Burnquist.

Governor Burnquist had expected to be present and participate in the exercises, but almost at the last moment he was called out of the city on important business. He therefore

designated Mr. Schulz as his representative for the occasion, and in this capacity Mr. Schulz accepted the building on behalf of the state and formally intrusted the Minnesota Historical Society with its use. The trust was accepted on behalf of the society by its president, the Honorable Gideon S. Ives, who spoke as follows:

The organization, upbuilding, and maintenance of a society of this character, even in this day and age of the world is beset with many difficulties. We have happily surmounted a great number of these and may well congratulate ourselves that, after many tribulations and the exercise of a great deal of energy and perseverance, we have finally climbed over the top and the road to future success and usefulness is well within our view.

In a time like this it is customary and proper to look back and see what forces have united in bringing about this result. In a retrospect of this character we are inclined to give too much credit for the work done within our immediate knowledge, and not enough for what has been done in the past. The fact is that all the efforts recently made to secure a permanent home for the society would have been absolutely fruitless had it not been for the sagacity, foresight, and perseverance of those men who organized it, who kept it up during its early struggles for existence, and who laid broad and deep the foundations for its future success.

This society was incorporated by an act of the legislature of Minnesota Territory, approved by Alexander Ramsey, the governor, on October 20, 1849. In examining the acts passed by this legislature one is impressed with the facts that no other act of any particular importance either to the territory or to the future state, except laws of a general nature, was passed, and that this was one of the first—in fact the very first—enactment of any importance to be approved by the governor. This is a remarkable proof of the wisdom of the early pioneers, and of their full understanding and appreciation of the importance and necessity of providing means for gathering and recording the history of the new country conterminous with the inauguration of its government. If we follow the proceedings of this society through the early period of its existence we are more and more impressed

with the determination, self-denial, and persistence of these men, not only in keeping it alive and building it up, but also in gathering material for its various departments. For a long period little aid was furnished by the legislature, and in those early days, when money was scarce and times were hard, it was not an easy matter to keep up a society of this character and provide for its efficiency. The work of the society at that time was somewhat limited, but at the same time quite important. The country was new and undeveloped, and an inquiry as to its minerals and its geological conditions was essential. The Indian tribes still remained in many localities, and a study of their history, habits, and traditions, and the gathering and preservation of the evidences of their occupation of the country before these indications were swept away by the advancing tide of immigration was of the utmost importance.

While we rejoice today over what has been accomplished by this society in the past, we should realize that this is not a time to relinquish our efforts, or to consider merely the preservation of what has already been secured. There is no question but that in the next few years, the success of this organization will largely depend upon the active and energetic support of its members. A large amount of work will be necessary in organizing and properly assembling the accumulations of the various departments, in classifying and preserving the official records of the state to be entrusted to our charge, and in bringing up to the present time the collections of material for the different phases of the state's history.

Much additional work will also be required in the immediate future for obtaining material in reference to the participation of Minnesota troops in the greatest war the world has ever known. Our boys are going across the ocean in great numbers and offering their lives in the cause of human liberty, and no effort should be neglected in gathering and preserving the record of their achievements. In order to accomplish these things an extra effort should be made at once to increase our membership in every county in the state. Now is the time to accomplish this work, and each member of the society will be expected to consider himself a committee of one in his locality to secure new members. This will not only increase our revenue but it will also strengthen our hands in the future exigencies of the society.

An extra effort should be made to acquaint and interest the public with the facilities and objects of the society. Heretofore we have been burrowing in the basement with our departments in such condition that they have afforded very little attraction to the public. From time immemorial, ignorance, superstition, and indifference have been the chief obstacles to the progress of organizations of this character. At the time when the legislature was asked for the appropriation with which this building was erected, considerable opposition was manifest among the members chiefly because of dense ignorance of the objects to be accomplished and the importance of keeping up this society and providing for its future usefulness. Indeed, one of the very active opponents contemptuously referred to the accumulations of this society as "a lot of old junk of no importance to anybody." We are very happy to say, however, that this was not the prevailing idea, or this building would not have been completed. The "old junk" to which he referred consisted of one of the finest and largest historical libraries in the West and a splendid museum of archeological and historical objects. They had been collected over a period of more than sixty-five years, and their loss would have been irreparable.

I sincerely and heartily congratulate the members of this society and the people of the state upon the auspicious opening and dedication of this beautiful and commodious building to the great purposes for which it was designed; and I bespeak for the society, and for every member thereof, renewed efforts in the future to maintain and advance the high standard of service and usefulness that has always existed in the past.

The presiding officer then introduced Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, who spoke as follows on behalf of the sister historical societies of the country.

Mr. Chairman, Officers and Members of the Minnesota Historical Society, and Pioneers of Minnesota: From the historical societies of the United States of America, I bring you greetings. We appreciate your gracious invitation to participate in this program; and we respond with the feeling that

it is fitting that we should rejoice with you today in the dedication of this magnificent building. For somehow we feel that your home is our home, and that this building and its store of historical treasures will always be open not alone to the members of the Minnesota Historical Society and to Minnesota students of history, but to all students of history who call themselves American. We feel—today more than ever before, perhaps—that our traditions and our inheritances are one, and that in the cultivation of our several fields we should never lose the larger vision of a common country, a common history, and a common destiny.

Today we are all of us profoundly impressed with the magnificence of this structure. But more impressive to my mind than the building itself is the fact that the Minnesota Historical Society was founded more than three score and ten years ago by pioneers—men of the frontier. In these days of scholarly research and monographic publication it is well to remind ourselves of the fact that the foundations of the state historical societies of the West were laid not by trained historians but by the pathfinders of American democracy—men who in their day had a vision of a new life and the courage and capacity to realize it.

Early in life these pioneers enlisted in a great cause—the winning of the West. Armed with axes and plows they pushed forward into this northwest country, bent upon the conquest of forest and prairie. And when they had won the battles of the frontier and had organized a new territory, which they called Minnesota, they began to reflect upon their experiences. The marvelous transformation which they had witnessed stirred their imaginations. They felt that somehow the vision by which they had been inspired and the struggles through which they had passed would some day form the opening chapter in the history of a great democratic commonwealth. And so they resolved, while it was yet time, "to rescue from oblivion the memory of the early pioneers" by establishing a state historical society.

Thus in the middle of the nineteenth century the pioneers of Minnesota sowed the seeds of a state and local history which have grown and matured into ripened grain. To gather the harvest, and withal to sift the grain, is the duty of the present hour.

Moreover, the organization of the Minnesota Historical Society as a state institution was in itself a pioneer movement in history. To be sure there had always been an interest in local tradition in the older communities of the East; but it remained for the pioneers of the western commonwealths to provide for the preservation and promotion of state and local history through the organization of state historical societies.

Indeed, many of the older American historians did not regard state and local history as especially important. While they were ambitious to discover the origin and trace the progress of American democracy, they failed to appreciate the fact that, before the real import of American democracy could be divined, the forest of state and local history must be explored. Interested in the story of the nation, they began at the top and seldom if ever reached the bottom. It remained for the unschooled pioneers of the West to discover the truth that American history should be studied from the bottom up rather than from the top down.

The pioneer origin of the Minnesota Historical Society is one of its most valuable assets: it should remain its most revered tradition, its most cherished inheritance. In stressing the importance of state and local history the pioneers pointed the way. Let us keep the faith.

But why? Has not the frontier disappeared, the West vanished, and the epoch of pioneering passed? Let the student of western, frontier, pioneer history answer.

The West is not any particular area in history, nor the frontier a certain geographical line. The West is preëminently a state of mind; the frontier, a condition; pioneering, an attitude toward life. Behold in America today a new-born West, a new frontier, a new view of pioneering! War! Democracy! Citizenship! Never were the opportunities of the West more alluring. Never was the frontier more inviting. Never was the call for pioneers more urgent than at this very hour.

Then as children of this new West, this new frontier, this new epoch of pioneering, let us cherish the memory of our pioneer fathers and forefathers of the old-time West and the old-time frontiers. Let us in our day face the problems of war, and of democracy, and of citizenship with the courage and in the spirit of pioneers.

Dr. Warren Upham, archeologist of the society and its secretary from 1895 to 1914, then read the following paper:

FORMER HOMES AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By an act of the first legislature of Minnesota Territory, this society was incorporated October 20, 1849. In the next month. on November 15, it was formally organized in the office of Charles K. Smith, the territorial secretary, to whose efforts, chiefly, the passage of the act and the earliest work of the society in promoting immigration and other interests of the new territory were due. In the first meeting, Governor Alexander Ramsey was elected president; David Olmsted and Martin McLeod, vice presidents; William H. Forbes, treasurer; and C. K. Smith, secretary. Governor Ramsey continued as president fourteen years, until in 1863 he went to Washington as senator, and he was again the president during the last twelve years of his life, from 1891 to 1903.

Meeting today for the dedication of this new building as the home of the Minnesota Historical Society, we may well look back to its first effort to provide such a permanent home. In the annual meeting of January 15, 1856, Colonel D. A. Robertson reported the sale of sixty-two life memberships at twenty-five dollars each, the proceeds of which were applied to payment on two lots at the northwest corner of Tenth and Wabasha streets in St. Paul, purchased from Vital Guerin for fifteen hundred dollars.

The corner stone of the projected building there for the use of this society was laid June 24, 1856, with a grand celebration and Masonic ceremonies. A procession was formed at the Winslow House, on the corner of Fort and Eagle streets, and marched to the grounds, preceded by a band and accompanied by Sherman's Battery from Fort Snelling, which had won distinction in the Mexican War under the name of the "Flying Artillery." An address was delivered by the mayor, the Honorable George L. Becker, followed by an address from Lieutenant M. F. Maury of the United States Coast Survey. The expense for excavation and a part of the foundation wall having absorbed the available

funds of the society, further prosecution of the work was shortly afterward abandoned.

The earliest occupancy of a room in the Capitol was on November 27, 1855, when the record states that the society "met for the first time in the hall set apart in the Capitol for their use, and properly furnished with shelves for the reception of books and other donations." In the summer of 1859 this room was required for use by the state auditor, and it became necessary to remove the society's property into a smaller room suitable only for storage.

Few meetings of this society were held during the troubled period of the Civil War. One is recorded as held on April 11, 1864, when it was voted to rent a small room adjoining the St. Paul Library room in Ingersoll's Block, and to move to the new quarters such portion of the collection as was thought desirable for exhibition. This was accordingly done, and the society continued to occupy this room for about four years.

More commodious rooms in the basement of the Capitol were the next home of this society, with space for the growth of the library and museum, and the first meeting there was held November 9, 1868.

When the Capitol was burned, March 1, 1881, the greater part of the museum was destroyed, but most of the library was saved. On March 3, in a special meeting at the office of the president, General Sibley, it was voted to remove the property saved to a room in the southeast corner of the Market House basement. The society occupied this room for the library and for meetings during two years.

With the completion of the second Capitol, rooms were provided for this society in the basement of its west wing, where the council first met on April 9, 1883. These rooms were the society's home through twenty-two years, until its removal in the summer of 1905 to larger rooms in the east half of the basement of the New Capitol. After more than twelve years there, the library and other collections were again removed, a few months ago, to this beautiful and spacious building.

On this great day of thankfulness and new hopes for the welfare of this historical society, and of renewed consecration for continuance and increase of its usefulness, we remember espe-

cially in love and gratitude its past workers who have received the fulfillment of the promise, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

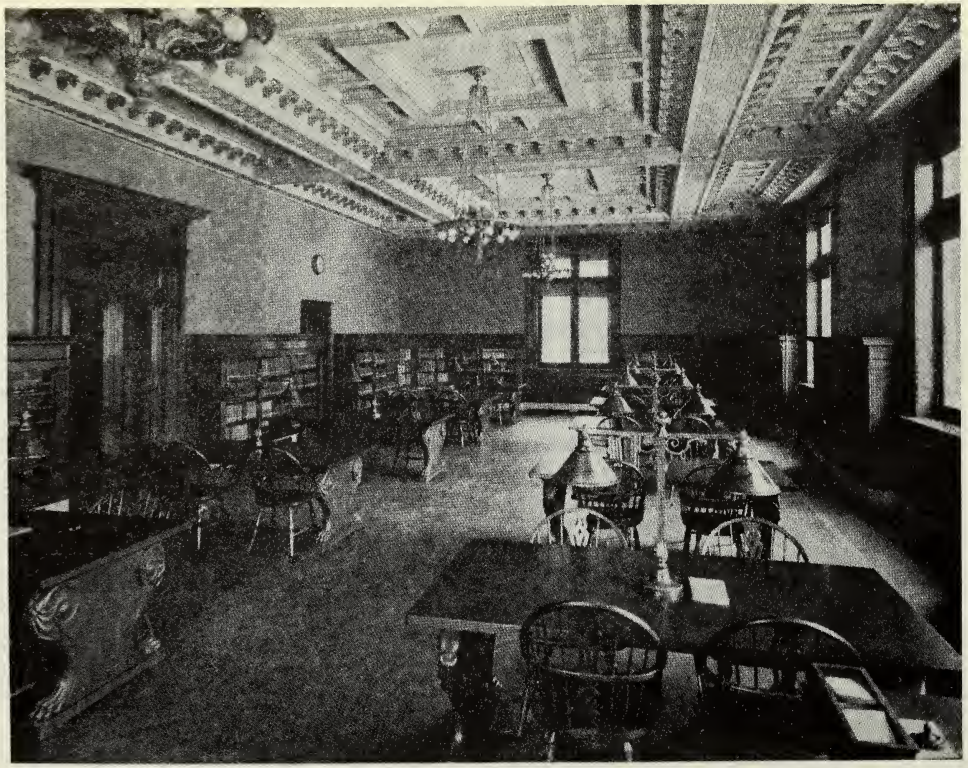
Following Governor Ramsey, who was the first president from 1849 to 1863, as before noted, the list of presidents, with their successive terms of service, comprises the Honorable Henry M. Rice, 1864 to 1866; General Henry H. Sibley, 1867; Governor William R. Marshall, 1868; George A. Hamilton, 1869; the Reverend John Mattocks, 1870; Captain Russell Blakeley, 1871; Charles E. Mayo, 1872; the Honorable Elias F. Drake, 1873; the Honorable George L. Becker, 1874; Dr. Robert O. Sweeny, 1875; General Sibley, 1876; Archbishop John Ireland, 1877 and 1878; General Sibley again for twelve years, from 1879 until his death in 1891; Governor Ramsey again, 1891 to 1903; General John B. Sanborn, from May, 1903, until his death on May 16, 1904; the Honorable Greenleaf Clark, in the latter part of 1904, until his death on December 7 of that year; Nathaniel P. Langford, from 1905 until his death on October 18, 1911; William H. Lightner, 1912 to 1915; Charles P. Noyes, 1915 to 1918; and the recently elected president, the Honorable Gideon S. Ives.

The first secretary, Charles K. Smith, removed in 1851 to his former home in Iowa; and on November 18, 1851, the Reverend Edward D. Neill was elected secretary. This position he held twelve years, meanwhile publishing in 1858 the first edition of his *History of Minnesota*. After Dr. Neill's long service, this office was held for a short time by William H. Kelley; during the next three years, 1864 to 1867, by Charles E. Mayo; during the following twenty-six years, to September, 1893, by John Fletcher Williams; from October, 1893, to March, 1895, by Governor Marshall; from November, 1895, through nineteen years by Warren Upham; and since November, 1914, by Solon J. Buck, the present secretary and superintendent.

During thirty-three years, from 1876 until his death, May 1, 1909, Henry P. Upham was the treasurer of this society.

James J. Hill gave the longest service as a member of the council, from December 14, 1868, until his death, on May 29, 1916; and in 1872 he held the office of vice president.

Many other names of generous donors and workers for the society deserve grateful remembrance in our dedication of this



Reading Room, Minnesota Historical Society Building

building. From my association with five members of the council to whom the museum and library are much indebted for their gifts and service, this brief address may fittingly end with my personal tribute to the Reverend Edward C. Mitchell and the Honorable Jacob V. Brower, from whom the museum received donations of very extensive archeologic collections; Professor Newton H. Winchell, who during his last eight years served the society in its department of archeology, preparing large and valuable publications; Josiah B. Chaney, who for twenty-one years had charge of the newspaper department in the library, being succeeded by John Talman during the last ten years; and David L. Kingsbury who was the assistant librarian through eighteen years. Their hearty devotion to this society in its work for the state, and the similar fidelity and good service of others who preceded them, are an enduring inspiration for us, their successors, to "make our lives sublime," as Longfellow wrote, by being useful to our fellow citizens, to all the people of Minnesota.

The afternoon session was then concluded with the reading of the following paper by Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the society:

THE FUNCTIONS AND IDEALS OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In every one of the states of the American Union there is a society or similar institution devoted to the preservation of the record of the state's past; and the majority of these institutions are state supported, at least in part. Why is it that the American people have seen fit thus to put history on a different plane from other branches of human knowledge, to regard it as a matter of public interest and worthy of public support? The answer is simple. History is of community, rather than merely individual importance because history is to the community what memory is to the individual. It is the foundation upon which everything of the present rests and upon which everything of the future must be built. A nation, without knowledge of its history, like a man without memory, would be helpless.

But why, it may be asked, do we concern ourselves so much with state and local history; is it not sufficient to know thoroughly the history of the nation as a whole? Again the answer is fairly obvious. A thorough knowledge of the history of the nation as a whole is impossible without an adequate conception of the history of the parts which go to make up that whole. The past of Minnesota is just as much a part of American history, as the record of a presidential administration or the story of the Pilgrim fathers.

There are other reasons why local history has special importance in this country. One of these is that, essentially, the American nation is a democracy, and therefore its history must be the history of the people. The most important thing to know in connection with any problem in this country, either past or present, is not the action of the government with reference to it but the attitude of the people toward it, and not merely the attitude of a majority of the people as a whole but that of the people of each section of the country and of each class of the population. This knowledge can be obtained only by a study of local history and conditions.

Even if we accept Freeman's definition of history as "past politics," it is apparent, therefore, that we cannot confine it to developments at the seat of government. But few historical workers today restrict their field to past politics, and those who do interpret politics broadly and recognize that, in modern times at least, politics is greatly influenced by social and economic forces. The student of social and economic history must study the past of the people in their local communities, their homes, farms, and factories, if he would achieve an adequate understanding of the subject, if he would know how things came to be as they are and whither they are tending.

Largely as a result of the work of Professor Turner, who is to speak to us this evening, it is now generally recognized that one of the most significant and influential phases of American history is the westward movement, the advance of settlement across the country, the occupation of a continent by civilized people. Every community in the United States has its place in that movement, has passed or is passing through the various stages from a wilderness inhabited by savages to a highly organ-

ized society; and it is only by an intensive and comparative study of the settlement and development of the separate communities, with their special circumstances and conditions, that this westward movement and its influence upon national development as a whole can be understood.

The importance of history naturally receives, as a rule, greater recognition in those countries or states whose development extends over a long period of time. Thus it happens that the nations of Europe preserve their archives much more carefully and subsidize historical work much more liberally than do either the United States or most of the individual states of the Union. Thus it happens, also, that the oldest historical society in the country is that of Massachusetts, established in 1791. This date, however, is 171 years after the first settlement at Plymouth. Had Minnesota waited a similar length of time, the establishment of this society would still be several generations in the future. Fortunately the men who laid the foundations of this commonwealth had not only vision for the future but appreciation of the past. Perhaps they realized also, that the best time to collect the materials for the history of a period is during that period itself. However that may be, only thirty years after the beginning of American occupation, in the year in which Minnesota became a political entity, the Minnesota Historical Society was chartered by the first territorial legislature. I know of no other state in which an historical society was organized so early in its career. The distinguished State Historical Society of Wisconsin, which has outdistanced us in so many respects, in part because of the more adequate support to be expected from an older community, was organized in the same year as our own, but this was thirteen years after the establishment of Wisconsin Territory and one year after the state was admitted to the Union. In the still older, richer, and more populous state of Illinois, state historical activity did not begin until 1889.

Other speakers this afternoon have told you something about the work of this society in the past and have given credit to the men who have made it what it is. As the superintendent of the society, charged with the administration of its affairs under the direction of the executive committee and council, it is fitting that I should say something of its functions and ideals.

The Minnesota Historical Society is distinctly a state institution, an association of people banded together for the purpose of assisting the state to perform its recognized duties in the field of history. Its library and other possessions are public property available to all for consultation and examination under such restrictions as are necessary to ensure their preservation. It is also a popular institution, in the sense that membership is open to all who are sufficiently interested in the work of helping the state preserve the record of its past to pay the nominal dues. It is dependent upon the people, not only indirectly for legislative appropriations, but directly for invaluable assistance in preserving material of the greatest importance which cannot be obtained by purchase in the regular way. The people are therefore entitled to know what the society is doing and what are its plans for the future.

It is impossible in the limited time available this afternoon to present anything more than an outline of the functions of the society. The first of these is the accumulation of material. Since there are five other large and growing libraries in the Twin Cities, two of which are also state supported, it would be unwise for us to duplicate their work by attempting to build up a comprehensive general or miscellaneous library. We should rather cultivate intensively a special field, and that field should be American history. Even here it is necessary to make a selection of the more important things; but in the restricted field of Minnesota material, we should procure everything available. This means not merely strictly historical material but everything bearing in any way upon the state or any of its subdivisions, institutions, or inhabitants. An attempt is made to procure not only all official publications, however insignificant, but also the publications of semipublic or private institutions, including churches, societies, and business houses. The ephemeral printed matter of the present day is enormous, but it is possible to make a representative collection of such things as handbills, posters, programs and advertising literature, which will be valuable to the social historian in the future. The newspaper, though in some respects notoriously unreliable, is nevertheless the best mirror of community life, and the society now receives every issue of over half the papers published in the state. The files are contributed by the

publishers but the society bears the not inconsiderable expense of binding them.

Much of the most valuable material of history is in the form of manuscripts, and of these the state archives are especially important. A survey made a few years ago under the joint auspices of the society and the public archives commission of the American Historical Association disclosed the fact that these fundamental records of the activities of the state and its various departments are not receiving and cannot under present conditions receive proper care. The law under which this building was erected provided that it should be for the "use of the Minnesota historical society and for the care, preservation and protection of the State Archives." It is to be hoped that a future legislature will empower and, by adequate appropriations, enable the society to take over the custody of the mass of noncurrent records in the Capitol, to provide for their proper care and classification, and to make them accessible to historical investigators. Of private manuscript material the society already possesses a priceless collection, particularly in the papers of men who laid the foundations of the commonwealth. But we should acquire much more material of this sort, especially material illustrating social and economic conditions and development, such as the records of lumbering companies, the files of manufacturing establishments, and the papers of ordinary men in the ordinary pursuits of life.

With reference to illustrative material it is possible to say only a word. Museum articles which help to visualize the life of the past are essential, and additions must be made to the society's already large collection of portraits and photographs. Even motion picture films and phonograph records are not to be scorned.

Great as is the task of assembling the sources of history, the task of arranging and caring for them is still greater. Books and pamphlets fall within the ordinary domain of library science, requiring only an adequate staff of professionally trained assistants to classify and catalogue them and make them available to the public. Manuscripts, however, require special treatment. Usually they must be cleaned, pressed, and arranged in a logical or chronological order, and then inventories and calendars are needed to enable the student to use them with facility. The

administration of the museum and picture collections presents special problems which still await solution.

Another activity, long recognized as one of the important functions of an historical society, is publication; and this should not be confined to reminiscences, addresses, and miscellaneous articles. The time has come when we should make a comprehensive plan for the publication of the significant sources for the history of Minnesota, in order that their preservation may be assured and that they may be available to students all over the world. This means the printing of a long series of volumes of *Collections*, arranged to cover all periods and phases of the history of the state. It will involve the search for pertinent documents in many libraries, archive depositories and private collections throughout the country and even in Europe, as well as the assembling of material from our own files and from the state and local archives of Minnesota. If the work is done thoroughly and critically it will be a slow process, extending over an indefinite period of time, but the results will be permanent and increasingly valuable.

If history is to fulfill its mission in a democracy, it must serve not only the student but also the general public. Not everyone has the time or inclination for historical research but everyone should have some knowledge of and interest in the history of his community. Without such knowledge and interest, good citizenship is impossible. It is a proper function of a state historical society, therefore, to popularize the results of scientific investigation, to present history to the people in a form in which they can and will assimilate it. There are many ways of doing this: books and pamphlets in popular and attractive form may be prepared and given wide distribution; illustrated lectures may be presented not only here in the building but throughout the state; special exhibits may from time to time be arranged in the museum; and the organization and activity of local historical societies may be encouraged and directed. The time will come, we hope, when all these methods will be in use by our society.

The completion and dedication of this building means increased opportunity for the Minnesota Historical Society to serve the state. Increased opportunity involves increased responsibility and this in turn necessitates increased expenditures. The annual appropriation for the maintenance of the society was increased by

the last legislature from twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars. Everyone knows, however, that the purchasing power of twenty-five thousand dollars is less today than that of twenty thousand four years ago and very much less than that of twenty thousand in 1905 when the society's appropriation first reached that point. Only by the most rigid economy, particularly in the matter of salaries, and by drawing upon the income from the permanent funds of the society, has it been possible to meet the increased expenses resulting from the occupation of this building. When the Wisconsin Historical Society dedicated its building in 1901, its annual appropriation from the state was twenty thousand dollars. Today it is over three times that sum. Now that Minnesota has invested half a million dollars in an historical building, it is confidently believed that the legislature will see the wisdom of maintenance appropriations such as will result in the greatest possible return to the people of the state.

Though it is upon state appropriations that the society relies and should rely for the greater part of its support, there is no reason why it should not receive private contributions. As has been pointed out by our president, our predecessors of an earlier generation gave liberally to the society; and we are now living in part on the fruits of their generosity. No donations or bequests of money have been received in recent years, however, partly perhaps, because the opportunity which the society offers for service of this sort has not been sufficiently emphasized. The opportunities are unlimited, however. A form of donation of especial value would be a fund the income from which should be devoted to collection, research, and publication in some field of special interest to the donor, such as the history of a religious organization, an element of the population, a profession, an industry, or even the history of Minnesota's participation in the great World War. What finer or more enduring memorial can be conceived than a unified series of publications, each bearing the name of the fund which made it possible. Some of the neighboring historical societies have received large endowment funds recently, one of them receiving over a quarter of a million dollars from a single donor. Contributions of this sort, whether large or small and whether for general or for special purposes,

will be welcomed by the Minnesota Historical Society and will be scrupulously used in accordance with the wishes of the donor.

In the hope and expectation that the citizens of the state will give to the society the loyal support so necessary if it is to make the fullest use of its new opportunities, we are now dedicating the building which will undoubtedly be its home for many years to come. This day will long be remembered in the annals of our society. It marks, however, not a culmination, but a beginning. We are standing on the threshold of a new epoch in the history of the world, an epoch in which democracy, having demonstrated by force its right to exist, will open the way for renewed progress in all the fields of human activity. The Minnesota Historical Society stands ready to play its part in the new epoch, to preserve the record of the past and of the ever advancing present, for the benefit of the future. This occasion is not merely the dedication of a building, it is also a rededication of the society and the state to the service of history, and through history, to the service of mankind.

At the conclusion of the afternoon exercises the entire building was thrown open for inspection, and hundreds of members and friends of the society, guided by members of the staff, made the tour through the offices, workrooms, book-stacks, reading rooms, museum and galleries. The delegates and invited guests were then entertained at a supper served in the museum. Since the reading room proved too small to accommodate the audience in the afternoon, the evening session was transferred to the House Chamber in the Capitol. Here a large audience heard the inspiring dedicatory address by Dr. Frederick J. Turner, professor of history in Harvard University, which is printed elsewhere in this number of the BULLETIN.

In concluding this account of the dedication exercises it is fitting that acknowledgment be made to the St. Paul Association of Public and Business Affairs and to Mr. Charles P. Noyes for their generosity in sharing with the society the expenses of the occasion. The arrangements for the supper

were handled by a committee of St. Paul women composed of Mrs. George R. Metcalf, chairman, Mesdames Charles E. Furness, Frederick G. Ingersoll, Gideon S. Ives, William H. Lightner, Charles P. Noyes, and Charles W. Williams, and Misses Lydia Ickler and Hester Pollock. The flowers were contributed by Mrs. Furness, whose father, the Honorable Alexander Ramsey, as governor of the territory, signed the bill establishing the society, and later served for many years as its president.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

DELEGATES AT THE DEDICATION

Thirty-eight societies and institutions are represented in the following list of officially appointed delegates in attendance at the exercises for the dedication of the Minnesota Historical Society building, May 11, 1918. The list has been compiled from the registration cards and probably is not complete, as it is believed that some delegates who were present failed to register.

Mississippi Valley Historical Association
Dr. St. George L. Sioussat, president
Mrs. Clara Paine, secretary

New England Historic Genealogical Society
Dr. James Kendall Hosmer

American Jewish Historical Society
Mr. Emanuel Cohen

American-Scandinavian Foundation
Dr. John E. Granrud

Kansas State Historical Society
Mr. William E. Connelly, secretary

State Historical Society of Iowa
Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, superintendent

Massachusetts Historical Society
Dr. Frederick J. Turner
Dr. William Stearns Davis

Michigan Historical Commission
Dr. George N. Fuller, secretary

Nebraska State Historical Society
Mrs. Clara Paine, librarian

State Historical Society of North Dakota
Dr. Orin G. Libby, secretary
Dr. Melvin R. Gilmore, curator

Rhode Island Historical Society
Dr. St. George L. Sioussat

Texas State Historical Association
Dr. August C. Krey
Washington State Historical Society
Mr. Frank B. Cole
State Historical Society of Wisconsin
Dr. Milo M. Quaife, superintendent
Minnesota Academy of Science
Dr. Frederick J. Wulling, first vice president
University of Minnesota
Mr. James T. Gerould, librarian
Dr. Lotus D. Coffman, dean of the college of education
State Normal School, Mankato
Mr. Charles H. Cooper, president
State Normal School, St. Cloud
Mr. Russell G. Booth, instructor in history
Mr. Darius Steward, instructor in history
State Normal School, Winona
Mr. Wilson P. Shortridge, instructor in history
Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis
Dr. John O. Evjen, professor of church history
Carleton College, Northfield
Dr. Donald J. Cowling, president
Hamline University, St. Paul
Dr. Samuel F. Kerfoot, president
Seabury Divinity School, Faribault
Rev. Francis L. Palmer
Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution
Mrs. James T. Morris, state regent
Minnesota Society, Daughters of the Revolution
Mrs. John A. Schlener, state regent
Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Minnesota
Mrs. Charles J. A. Morris, first vice president
Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Minnesota
Mr. William Gardner White
Sons of the Revolution in the State of Minnesota
Dr. C. Eugene Riggs
Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Minnesota
Colonel William H. Harries

Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Minnesota
Mrs. Ida A. Crisp
Mrs. Sarah E. Mathews
Mrs. Elizabeth D. Slater
Mrs. Carrie H. Smith
Mrs. Anna Taylor
Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Minnesota Commandery
Captain Jeremiah C. Donahower, commander
Patterson Post No. 7, Veterans of Foreign Wars
Mr. Andrew Hawkins
Native Sons of Minnesota
Dr. Arthur M. Eastman
Dr. William E. Leonard
Vermillion Range Old Settlers' Association
Mr. John Owens
Red River Valley Old Settlers' Association
Mr. Edmund M. Walsh
Junior Pioneers' Association of St. Anthony Falls
Dr. Arthur M. Eastman, president
Hennepin County Territorial Pioneers' Association
Major Edwin Clark, secretary
Mr. George A. Brackett
Mr. Nathan Butler
Mr. Caleb D. Dorr
Mr. Lysander P. Foster
Hon. John B. Gilfillan
Mr. Moses P. Hayes
Mr. Milton C. Stubbs
Pipestone County Old Settlers' Historical Society
Hon. Edward W. Davies, president
Mr. Frank Pearson, secretary

FELICITATIONS ON THE NEW HOME

Many of the societies and institutions invited to be represented by delegates at the dedication of the new building of the Minnesota Historical Society were naturally unable to

accept the invitation. Most of them responded, however, with letters of congratulation and expressions of appreciation of the work of the society. The following selections from these letters illustrate the community of interests in the field of historical endeavor and the attitude of other institutions toward the Minnesota Historical Society.

American Baptist Historical Society

Your kind invitation for us to be represented at the dedication of your historical building has been referred to me for reply.

We are very grateful for the kindness and regret only that it seems impossible for us to be represented as you request. Please accept our sincere interest in the work and our good wishes in lieu of our presence with you on this delightful occasion.

Respectfully yours,
Frank G. Lewis
Librarian

American Catholic Historical Society

On behalf of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia I beg to thank you for your kind invitation to be represented at the dedication of your Building. The program that you enclosed is very interesting and the print of your Building shows that you are to be congratulated on having obtained such appropriate and artistic results. It is with regret that we must decline your invitation due to the long distance that separates us. We know however that our aims are identical in seeking the collation and perpetuation of the records of American history and ideals; liberty, equality, fraternity and religious tolerance.

Yours truly,
James M. Willcox
President

American Jewish Historical Society

It gives us great pleasure to extend the congratulations of the American Jewish Historical Society to The Minnesota Historical Society on this auspicious event in its career. Your society has

rendered history considerable service through its many and excellent publications which reveal the rich share your state and its people have in the common development of our country. In your new building you should be able to extend your activities and thereby increase the measure of the debt all students of American history owe you for your work.

Very truly yours,
On behalf of the American Jewish Historical Society,
CYRUS ADLER, President
ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG, Corresponding Secretary

AMERICAN-SCANDINAVIAN FOUNDATION

We wish to congratulate the Society upon this beautiful new home and, more particularly, upon what you are doing to preserve the literature of the Scandinavian settlements in the Northwest.

We trust that this undertaking will inspire and correlate similar efforts in various parts of the country.

Very truly yours,
HENRY GODDARD LEACH
Secretary

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Buffalo Historical Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of your courteous invitation to be represented at the dedication of your new historical building. I regret that it is not convenient to send a delegate for that occasion, but take pleasure in extending to you, as a sister institution, the hearty congratulations and best wishes of the Buffalo Historical Society.

I have the honor to remain

Very truly yours,
FRANK H. SEVERANCE
Sec'y.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This Society finds it impracticable to send a representative to be present at the dedication of your Historical Building on May eleventh.

I am, however, directed by vote of the Society to extend to you our hearty felicitations on that occasion, and to wish you increased usefulness and prosperity in your new building.

Very truly yours,
ALBERT C. BATES
Recording Secretary

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Please accept our sincere thanks for the honor implied in your kind invitation to be represented at the dedication of your historical building on May 11th.

While it will be impracticable for us to send a personal representative to this important meeting, allow us to congratulate you upon the event, and to wish for your Society that great degree of usefulness which its high purposes so richly deserve. We send you our greetings and best wishes from the empire State of the South.

Very respectfully,
OTIS ASHMORE
Corresponding Secretary

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Let me congratulate your Society on possessing these spacious new quarters and wish it continued and increasing activity.

Very sincerely yours,
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER
Corresponding Secretary

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, ST. CLOUD, MINNESOTA

I wish to thank you for the invitation to have a representative of the school present at the dedication of the historical building on May 11th.

I assure you that the school will probably be represented on this occasion. We rejoice with the members of your Society upon the completion of this excellent building.

Sincerely yours,
J. C. BROWN
President

Missouri Historical Society

The Missouri Historical Society acknowledges the kind invitation of the Minnesota Historical Society to be represented at the dedication of the new historical building, and expresses its thanks and appreciation of this courtesy. It regrets very much its inability to send a representative, and takes this occasion to congratulate the Minnesota Historical Society on the splendid progress it has made and wishes to extend its best wishes for its continued success.

Missouri Historical Society
Stella M. Drumm
Librarian

New Jersey Historical Society

I wish, on behalf of our Society, to congratulate you on the building, the picture of which shows that it is in every wise worthy of your very important position as a Society. We are well aware that you are doing good work.

Yours very truly,
A. V. D. Honeyman
Corresponding Secretary

New York Genealogical and Biographical Society

The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society acknowledges with thanks the courteous invitation of the Minnesota Historical Society to be present at the dedication of their new building on the occasion of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the admission of Minnesota to the Union, May 11th, 1918, and regrets that remoteness from the centre of its activity will prevent representatives of our Society being officially present at the dedication.

The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society is actuated by sentiments of legitimate envy in viewing the pictorial presentation of your new home, and is living in the hope that in the near future it may be able to emulate the example of your active and energetic society and to welcome you to its new building in New York City the site for which is already provided and paid for.

Trusting that all success may attend this important dedication ceremony and assuring you, our sister Society, of our sympathy and congratulations, I beg to subscribe myself in the name of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.

Very truly yours,
JOHN R. TOTTEN
Chairman Executive Committee

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

I very greatly regret that I cannot myself attend the exercises in connection with the dedication of your new building. Happily however the Rhode Island Historical Society will be ably represented by one of its distinguished members, Professor St. George L. Sioussat, President of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

Felicitating you upon the completion of your new building and wishing for your Society continued success in the historical work it is carrying on I am

Very truly yours,
WILFRED H. MUNRO
President

TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

It is with regret that we must decline personal representation on this interesting occasion. However, we are very appreciative of recognition and desire to express our congratulations on the attainment of the much desired new building by your society. You have our continued good wishes for further prosperity and progress.

Very truly yours,
W. A. PROVINE
Corresponding Secretary

TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

We congratulate you upon the completion of this excellent building and trust that it will make it possible for your Society to even further enlarge its effective and useful work in behalf of history.

Very truly yours,
CHAS. W. RAMSDELL
Cor. Secretary

Virginia Historical Society

Please accept the sincere thanks of this Society for your invitation to be represented at the dedication of your new building. There is no organization in the country which can [more] appreciate the need of a new and convenient building in which to do its work and house its collection. Therefore we can, with especial heartiness, congratulate you on your new home. I regret that we cannot, except in spirit, be present on such a pleasant occasion. With best wishes from our Society—

Yours truly,
W. G. Stanard
Cor. Secty.

Washington State Historical Society

On behalf of the Officers and members of the Washington State Historical Society, we congratulate you on this auspicious occasion. The privilege of dedicating an Historical Building is a happy one.

Complying with your couretous request, that our society be represented at the Dedication, we have the honor of naming Mr. Frank B. Cole, of Tacoma, Washington—a life member of our society—as our delegate, and ask that he may have the privilege of presenting to you our felicitations.

Respectfully Yours,
W. P. Bonney
Secretary

Wyoming Historical Society

I wish to congratulate you upon your splendid success in building this fine new home for your Society. It would have given me great pleasure to have represented the Wyoming Historical Society at your celebration.

Very sincerely,
Agnes R. Wright
Custodian

Mississippi Valley Historical Association

Resolution adopted at its meeting in St. Paul, May 9, 10, 11, 1918

Resolved: That we express our pleasure and our congratulations to the Minnesota Historical Society upon the occasion of the dedication of its new historical building, the use of which has added to the pleasures and profit of this gathering.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Minnesota Geographic Names; Their Origin and Historic Significance (Minnesota Historical Collections, vol. 17). By WARREN UPHAM. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1920. viii, 735 p.)

The subject of the origin and significance of names, either personal and family names or names of places, is one of unending and alluring interest. Every name carries a volume of history. Place names often have come from aboriginal sources. Sometimes they have passed down through time in almost perfect original form, but many times they can scarcely be recognized, so mutilated have they been by alien tongues, sometimes even by a succession of tongues alien to each other and to the original; as, for instance, a place name which came originally from one or another of the Indian languages, then was either corrupted in pronunciation or translated, and finally was corrupted by the English from the French.

But every name carries its story of wonder, of beauty, of romance, or of devotion and sacrifice and heroism; or, on the other hand, a name may tell of sordidness, meanness, grasping avarice, or vulgar vacuity of mind in those who first affixed it. Place names may even sometimes originate in the most frivolous aggregation of mutilated fractions of real words. The name of the Cayuna Iron Range, for example, was made by sticking together fractions of the names of a certain man and his dog; others have been made by fragmenting two meaningful words and then putting two unrelated fragments together to form a meaningless vocable like Itasca, on a par with such devices as the well-known trade names "kodak," "uneeda," and "takoma."

Whoever undertakes and faithfully carries out the task of compiling the place names of a state, with their derivation and significance, performs a praiseworthy accomplishment and does a distinct public service. Such a work has been produced for the state of Minnesota by Dr. Warren Upham in his *Minnesota Geographic Names.* This is a careful, painstaking, and conscientious

study of the origin and, so far as possible, an exposition of the meaning of the names of all the natural features, as lakes, streams, hills, and valleys, and of the political divisions, as counties, towns, and cities of the state. This is a most noteworthy work, the result of a vast amount of diligent, persistent, and painstaking labor. It is one more monument to the indefatigable labors of Dr. Upham. The Minnesota Historical Society is to be congratulated upon the issuance of this work. It is to be wished that every state might have wrought out for it as good and full an account of its place names as this which has been written for Minnesota.

MELVIN RANDOLPH GILMORE

Vagabond och redaktör: lefnadsöden och tidsbilder. By ERNST SKARSTEDT. (Seattle, Washington Printing Company, 1914. 410 p. Illustrations.)

Svensk-amerikanska folket i helg och söcken: strödda blad ur svensk-amerikanernas historia, deras öden och bedrifter, nederlag och segrar, livsintressen och förströelser, jämte biografiska uppgifter om ett antal märkesmän. By ERNST SKARSTEDT. (Stockholm, Björck and Börjesson, 1917. 450 p. Illustrations.)

The reader of Ernst Skarstedt's *Vagabond och redaktör* would hardly expect to find in the same author's *Svensk-amerikanska folket i helg och söcken* the most comprehensive and in many respects the best balanced and most sympathetic account of the Swedish-Americans yet written. Journalist, musician, carpenter, farmer, book agent, tramp, truckman, photographer, essayist, skeptic, humorist, and philistine, Mr. Skarstedt can scarcely be said to embody the essential qualifications of an historian; but his delightful style, insatiable appetite for reading, wide acquaintance, extensive traveling, and keen understanding of human nature more than make up for his shortcomings. The translator who can do justice to the sparkling pages of these two books, which contribute so much to our knowledge of the emigration, settlement, and progress of the Swedish people in America, will be welcomed.

Chapters of the experiences of the eccentric "vagabond and editor" appeared first in a New York magazine, *Valkyrian,* in the spring of 1899 under the title "A Dog's Life for Eighteen Months." His earlier volume is an autobiography, which begins with his arrival in the United States, January 4, 1879, and ends with the date January 20, 1889, thus constituting a chapter in the history of the Swedish-Americans in the decade of the eighties, when the migration from Sweden was at flood tide. Like thousands of his countrymen the author was dissatisfied with conditions in the old country and determined to cast his lot with the citizens of the exuberant republic in the New World. Arriving at Litchfield, Minnesota, his first job consisted in caring for horses and a cow, sawing wood, and attending to the duties usually incumbent on a hand. Not finding the extreme Minnesota winter to his liking, after a few weeks he left for the pioneer Swedish settlements around Salina, Lindsborg, and Marquette, Kansas, where he found employment as a farmer, carpenter, and journalist. The monotonous Kansas prairies and the provincialism of the puritan Lindsborg colony could not for long satisfy the restless lad of twenty-two, and after about a year he found himself in a box car in company with a half dozen tramps bound for Denver, where he was immediately taken into custody by a special railway police. Here he undertook the strenuous life of a truckman in a freight depot, which was speedily succeeded by more congenial employment in the office of a Swedish newspaper in Chicago. Mr. Skarstedt's residence in this city was interrupted by a trip to Missouri in the interest of his paper and a sojourn in Minnesota, prompted by the failing health of his wife.

In March, 1885, the Skarstedt family moved to Portland, and the last part of the book is concerned with experiences and occupations in the Puget Sound country and a trip to Sweden, in 1885–86. Mr. Skarstedt writes:

> Somehow or other, America appeared to us to be far ahead of Sweden in most respects, and for this reason nothing irritated me more than to hear persons who had not the least knowledge of America pronounce hostile judgments about the civilization and state of affairs in that country, pity the emigrants, and belittle and profane the opportunities they enjoyed. . . . And there were many other

things that went against the grain. There was a touchiness on matters of precedence, an overbearingness on the one side and a cringing on the other, an obvious contempt for manual labor, a disposition to put on airs, a superficiality and an emptiness, which was most irritating. In America the idea would be ridiculed that anybody could consider himself too good or too fine or too aristocratic to carry a traveling bag or a package. But there a member of the upper classes could not carry anything or perform manual labor in public.

Naturally, Mr. Skarstedt's reminiscences are concerned mainly with events and incidents in which he played a part; but his pages abound in character sketches of pioneers and descriptions of conditions in communities of which he was a member, and in these his humor and sarcasm are allowed free rein.

In writing his book on the Swedish-Americans Mr. Skarstedt has reaped the results of extensive travel in this country and in Sweden and of the collection of material extending over a long period of time. He has marshalled a formidable amount of information, and has presented it in a fashion very much out of the ordinary. The fact that it was written for readers in Sweden lends additional value to the book. The author has sought to correct the erroneous conception of the problems and achievements of Swedish-Americans prevalent in his native land—a task accomplished without offense to the most sensitive. He argues that the great exodus from Sweden has worked to the benefit of the mother country, the adopted country, and the emigrants. The seriousness of the loss of thousands of enterprising farmers and laborers is balanced by the relief of economic pressure in the homeland and the inflow of millions of dollars sent there by prosperous American farmers and artisans. The citizen of Sweden who revels in the glorious traditions and history of his country may not welcome the assertion that the average Swedish-American does not cherish the attachment to the mother country attributed to the German-American, the Norwegian-American, and the people of certain other nationalities. The memory of his birthplace and friends and relatives left behind lingers, but pride in Swedish citizenship vanishes like the rainbow. The author liberally discounts the sentiments expressed by Swedish-American speakers on occasions when distinguished visitors from

Sweden are honored; he doubts that they voice the sentiments of the multitude. "Sometimes it seems that the most recent Americans are the most patriotic," writes a Swedish-American, "just as the religious convert is the most zealous." The Swedes, according to Mr. Skarstedt, deem it an unusual honor to be counted among the Americans. Their homes are furnished in true American style; with few exceptions their books are English; the pictures which adorn their homes are of American workmanship. When children are asked what part of Sweden claims the parental home of their parents, ninety-nine times out of a hundred the reply is, "I don't know." To find the children of immigrants proficient in the use of Swedish is most rare. Mr. Skarstedt sees no probability of success in any effort to induce immigrants to return to their former homes. Their attachment to America, especially that of the women and children, is too deep-seated; to convince them that in Sweden the doors of opportunity swing open as wide as in America is impossible.

Mr. Skarstedt does not claim to have written a history, but rather a book of reference for those seeking enlightenment on the experiences of immigrants—their interests, ways of thinking, aspirations, and economic circumstances; their estimates of themselves as well as what others have said about them. He has, however, drawn liberally on the works of standard historians like Erik Norelius, Olof N. Nelson, Alfred Söderström, and Ernst W. Olson, as well as on those of Swedish and Swedish-American authors, and on church publications, souvenir albums, statistics, and compilations. His two chapters on the history of Swedish settlements, churches, and educational institutions are compact, full of facts, and well written. He has apportioned an appropriate amount of space to the various religious denominations—Methodists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Baptists, and Mission Friends—and he has dealt with each in a sympathetic spirit.

No other work approaches the present volume in the comprehensive treatment of the cultural development of the Swedish-Americans. One chapter is given to a discussion of Swedish societies and the part that Swedish-Americans have played in the realm of music. The author's interest in art, journalism, and literature, and his wide acquaintance with prominent men in these fields is revealed in a long chapter, consisting of a general survey

of these subjects and excellent biographical sketches. In compiling a chronological history of Swedish-American newspapers and listing many productions of Swedish-American authors, publications of churches, publication houses, newspapers, business concerns, and other organizations, the author has rendered a service for which scholars may be duly grateful. "Swedish-Americans among Americans" is the rather unusual title of a chapter which sets forth the work of men of Swedish parentage who have attained prominence in fields of endeavor not directly connected with the progress of their own nationality. In some respects the author is at his best in the three last chapters: "Swedish-American Types, Characteristics and Eccentricities," "Pictures and Episodes in Swedish-American Life," and "The So-called Swedish-American Language." The reviewer laments the fact that only those who understand the Swedish language and have heard at first hand the ludicrous combination of Swedish and English so common in pioneer communities can appreciate the mirth-provoking perversion of the mother tongue.

The work of Mr. Skarstedt is of such a high order, the numerous illustrations so excellent, and the general make-up of the book so satisfactory, that one can find little incentive to look for flaws. A good index, a classified bibliography, and greater care in the spelling of proper names would have disarmed the most carping critic.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

Hamline University in the World War. By HENRY L. OSBORN, professor of biology and dean of the faculty. (St. Paul, 1920. 64 p.)

In this little book Professor Osborn gives permanent form to an historical record the value of which, both to Hamline University and to the community at large, will become increasingly apparent as the years go by. After paying tribute, in a series of short biographical sketches, to the Hamline men who lost their lives in the service, the author tells the story of Hamline's war services and of the effects of the war upon the life of the institution. Every phase of the subject, such as the training of young men for military service, the women's work of mercy, the institu-

tion of special war courses, the early formation and subsequent history of the famous Hamline Ambulance Unit, is set forth in dignified language with a minimum of rhetoric and a maximum of inspiring fact.

Part two of the book is devoted to lists of names, with brief records, of Hamline professsors, alumni, and undergraduates in the service, followed by a roster showing the organization and personnel of the Hamline Students' Army Training Corps. The summary given shows a total of five hundred and fifty-eight, including members of the Students' Army Training Corps, in the service. Of these eighty-two were commissioned officers, two won the Distinguished Service Cross, nine were awarded the *Croix de Guerre,* and eight never came back.

In getting this information together Professor Osborn has rendered a service to the community as well as to Hamline University. His book will be particularly useful in connection with the compilation of the war history of St. Paul and Ramsey County which is now under way. The example set should be followed by every local institution or organization, in this or any other community, which rendered important patriotic services during the great conflict and which has any pride in its achievements.

Franklin F. Holbrook

Memoirs of France and the Eighty-eighth Division: Being a Review Without Official Character of the Experiences of the "Cloverleaf" Division in the Great World War from 1917 to 1919, with Special Histories of the 352d Inf., 337th F. A. and 339th F. A. Compiled by Edgar J. D. Larson, captain infantry, Eighty-eighth Division headquarters. (Minneapolis, 1920. 173 p. Illustrations.)

This unofficial history supplements in a number of ways the more authoritative account of the Eighty-eighth Division reviewed in a previous number of the Bulletin (see *ante,* pp. 217–219). The earlier volume was prepared to furnish those who seek an account of the activities and accomplishments of the division with a reference book; the present volume was written for the individuals who made those accomplishments possible, who participated in the events recounted, who were members of the

Eighty-eighth Division. Its appeal is to the wearer of the cloverleaf insignia rather than to the student of history; it was published "to preserve in permanent form, memories of a trying period . . . for the benefit of the members of the Eighty-eighth Division," and to supply the need for a "book containing the story of the individual American soldier," rather than to present a general history of the division. Thus only a brief résumé of the story of the division is contained, and an extended section is devoted to "Personal Narratives and Reminiscences," including the stories of a number of Minnesotans. Conspicuous among these is a "recital of the adventures" of Captain Orren E. Safford of Minneapolis and Captain Henry A. House, formerly of Duluth, who were captured by the enemy and confined in a German prison from which they later escaped (pp. 25–31).

The distinct contribution of the volume to the recorded history of the division consists, however, of special accounts of four units: the 352nd United States Infantry, the 163rd United States Field Artillery Brigade, and the 337th and 339th regiments United States Field Artillery. The two latter narratives are supplemented by rosters, which appear in the appendix (pp. 163–172). The value of this material is enhanced by the fact that both accounts and rosters of field artillery units are missing in the earlier history of *The 88th Division in the World War.*

Considerable space is devoted to an "Album Section" similar to those contained in most county war histories; and numerous other excellent illustrations are scattered throughout the volume, some of which are reproduced from photographs in the "battery books" of officers. A map showing the "Travels of Main Units of 88th Div." forms the frontispiece; several interesting charts comparing the records of the Eighty-eighth and other divisions appear (p. 6); and "Facsimile Copies of Armistice Editions of U. S. Newspapers and 88th Division Publications" make up a novel portion of the appendix (pp. 152–156).

Bertha L. Heilbron

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

At no time since the dedication of the society's building has it seemed feasible, in view of the expense involved, to bring out the volume which was planned to serve as a commemorative record of that occasion. It has seemed best, therefore, rather than delay longer, to give up the larger plan and to publish part of the material intended for that volume in this "Dedication Number" of the BULLETIN.

The long awaited work on *Minnesota Geographic Names* by Dr. Upham, the society's archeologist, was finally received from the printer in May and has been distributed. Because of the increased costs of printing and binding only a small edition was issued and copies have been sent, as a rule, only to such of the active members as filled out and returned a request card sent to them for that purpose. Copies will now be sent, as long as the supply holds out, to any members, whether active, corresponding, or honorary, upon receipt of a request. A few copies are available for sale to nonmembers at $3.50 each.

Fifteen new members, all active, were enrolled during the quarter ending June 30: Frederic M. Fogg, Allan L. Firestone, Hiram D. Frankel, Harriet W. Sewall, and Glen R. Townsend of St. Paul; Mrs. Mary P. Allen, Edward J. Brown, Mrs. Jeannette M. Daniel, Julius E. Miner, Mrs. Maria H. Miner, and Elsa R. Nordin of Minneapolis; William L. Hilliard of Lengby; Trevanion W. Hugo of Duluth; Adolph Sucker of Lewisville; and Dr. Louis H. Roddis of the United States Medical Corps, now stationed at San Diego, California. The society has lost during the same period one active member, Robert B. C. Bement of St. Paul, who died May 7, 1920.

Two important positions on the staff became vacant in May as the results of the resignations of Miss Dorothy A. Heinemann, editorial assistant, and Miss Ilona B. Schmidt, head cataloguer. The editorial position has been filled by the appointment of Miss

Mary E. Wheelhouse, of the staff of the Illinois State Historical Library, who took up the work July 1; but so far no competent person has been found who will accept the position of head cataloguer at the salary available.

The society's building was inspected recently by the state architect of North Dakota with a view to getting suggestions for the Memorial Building to be erected at Bismarck for the use of the State Historical Society of North Dakota. He expressed himself as being much pleased with the design and plan of the Minnesota building.

The manuscript collections of the society are rapidly becoming more and more useful not only to research students but also to all persons and organizations interested in various phases of local history. During the past quarter two talks have been given by the curator to high school history classes on the use of manuscript material in the writing of history, and the system of filing and caring for manuscripts was quite fully explained to a visiting class from the summer school for librarians at the university. One study club of Minneapolis has sent its program committee to look through the collections for material for a course in local history which that club will pursue during the winter. A representative from the United States Weather Bureau has consulted old meteorological records kept at Fort Snelling and in St. Paul in the early days for statistics to be used in a study of changes in Minnesota weather during the last half century. A mission field agent of the Interchurch World Movement has consulted original records and accounts of early missions among the Indians of Minnesota. A local novelist has used an old diary of frontier days in his latest novel. A student of the history of Methodism in Minnesota has spent considerable time in the manuscript room, and two university professors, one from Minnesota and the other from Chicago, have made use of valuable source material in the collections. Reporters and feature writers for the local newspapers are regular visitors to the manuscript division, where they frequently find material for special articles for the Sunday editions of their papers.

The receipt of the seven new table cases, purchased with the remnant of the building equipment fund, has considerably increased the facilities for the display of special exhibits in the museum. Such exhibits recently installed include an Indian scout costume, Ojibway clothing, Indian ceremonial stones, Mandan bone implements, a group of Minnesota immigration pamphlets, a collection of rare postage stamps loaned by Dr. John M. Armstrong of St. Paul, and selections from the autograph collection of Mr. Joseph G. Heyn of Minneapolis.

During April and May the museum was visited by 55 different classes or groups from schools with a total of 1,336 pupils accompanied by 64 teachers. Over half of these classes came from schools outside of St. Paul, many of them located thirty or forty miles from the building. Reports from teachers indicate that these visits are of considerable educational value.

The children's history hours in the museum were brought to a close for the season with two talks by the curator, on "Minnesota Pioneers," April 10, and on "Pioneer Life in Minnesota," April 24. Thirteen of these meetings were held during the year with a total attendance of 1,281.

A series of historic trips to places around the Twin Cities, which was begun on May 29 by an excursion to old Fort Snelling and Mendota, has proved to be a big success, and much interest has been aroused in the historic past of the localities visited. Strangers in the Twin Cities have taken advantage of the trips to learn more about the region, and teachers from the high schools appear to have found them of value. Sixty-five persons went on the excursion to Indian Mounds Park and Battle Creek, June 12, and twenty-six on the trip to the site of the Pond Mission at Lake Calhoun, June 26. The many questions asked by the members of the parties showed the interest in the subjects discussed by the curator.

The St. Paul chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution held a meeting in the society's auditorium on the afternoon of April 13, at which the curator of the museum spoke on the possibilities of coöperation between the Daughters and the Minne-

sota Historical Society. Following the meeting tea was served in the west hall. A special historical committee was appointed at a later meeting of the chapter, and a number of the members have been serving from time to time as volunteer workers in the museum, assisting in the cataloguing of the collections.

A picnic of the Twin City History Teachers' Club, scheduled to be held at Battle Creek, near St. Paul, May 22, was transferred to the museum rooms at the last moment because of rain. Mr. Babcock gave a talk on the history of Battle Creek and Kaposia.

Accessions

Learning that a pamphlet of thirty-two pages entitled *Wanderings in Minnesota during the Indian Troubles of 1862,* by Thomas Scantlebury, which was hitherto unknown to the society, had been published in Chicago in 1867, Mr. Vail, the society's librarian, succeeded, after considerable correspondence, in getting in touch with a sister of the author, Mrs. Joseph W. Hambleton of Paterson, New Jersey, with the result that she has presented to the society not only a copy of the pamphlet but also the original manuscript from which it was printed. The narrative is in the form of a diary and records the daily experiences and impressions of a young soldier who participated in the campaign against the Indians. Enlisting for service with the Union Army just three days before the beginning of the Indian outbreak, Scantlebury was placed in Company H, Seventh Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, and within a few weeks he was ordered to join Colonel Sibley's forces at Fort Ridgely. He fought in the Battle of Wood Lake, helped to care for refugees and guard Indian prisoners at Camp Release, and witnessed the execution of thirty-eight Indians at Mankato. In the fall of 1863 he was sent south to recruit Negroes for the Union Army. He became ill the following spring, was granted sick leave, and died on board a boat while on his way up the Mississippi River to visit friends and relatives in Illinois. The pamphlet is of considerable interest to bibliophiles as well as to historians, for it is doubtful whether more than one or two other copies are in existence.

A valuable collection of over a hundred books, including many expensive works in fine bindings, has been presented by Mr. and Mrs. Edwin P. Capen of Minneapolis. The books are mainly from the library of Mrs. Capen's father, the late Joseph H. Thompson, who came to Minnesota in 1856 and who conducted the first express office in Minneapolis. Included in the gift are a portfolio of pictures and a box of stereoscopic views, some of which are of Minnesota scenes.

Three other large lots of books received during the last quarter are: about two hundred volumes and one hundred pamphlets, including regimental histories, geological reports, and publications of the Royal Society of Canada which were transferred from the Minnesota State Library; over six hundred books and about twenty pamphlets, consisting largely of old text books valuable for the history of education, which were transferred from the St. Paul Public Library; and over five hundred books selected from Minnesota's quota of the surplus from the great collection of books assembled by the American Library Association for the use of soldiers and sailors in the war.

A collection of pamphlets of unusual interest has been presented by Mr. D. M. Frederiksen of Minneapolis, president of the Scandinavian Canadian Land Company. It consists of immigrant guides, land maps, and prospectuses relating principally to southern Minnesota and issued or used during the eighties by land firms of which Mr. Frederiksen was a proprietor. The claims made in the pamphlets regarding the merits of this region, which certainly have been amply justified, led several thousand families to buy land in the two southern tiers of counties of Minnesota from these companies at prices ranging from six to fifteen dollars an acre. Four different languages, English, Norwegian, Swedish, and German, are represented in this literature. All except two of the items are new to the library. Perhaps the most interesting of them is a pamphlet entitled *Catholic Colonization in Minnesota,* "published by the Catholic Colonization Bureau of Minnesota, under the auspices of the Right Reverend John Ireland, coadjutor bishop of St. Paul," in 1879.

The latest number of a financial manual is the only one of much value to a business house but the old files are often needed in an historical or reference library. Consequently the gift from the First National Bank of St. Paul of forty-six volumes of Poore's and Moody's manuals and of various banker's encyclopedias, registers, and directories, extending from 1909 to 1918, is much appreciated.

A valuable run of the *New York Tribune* for the important period from 1850 to 1866 has been received from Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Faulkner of Minneapolis. The files for the Civil War years are complete and bound.

Recent important additions to the society's collection of material relating to the Scandinavian element include partial files of a number of Swedish Baptist periodicals and reports, sermons, and other religious literature presented by the Reverend G. Arvid Hagstrom, president of Bethel Academy of St. Paul; a collection of nearly two hundred Swedish books and pamphlets presented by Miss Elsa R. Nordin of the library staff; and a number of valuable historical books presented by Professor Andrew A. Stomberg of the University of Minnesota.

An increasing number of friends of the society are turning over to it their accumulations of old magazines, books, and pamphlets, which are often very useful for filling in the files in the society's library. The largest recent gifts of this sort have come from Mrs. Charles L. Spencer, Mrs. Charles W. Bunn, the estate of Mrs. Julius M. Goldsmith of St. Paul, and the estate of Mr. Lycurgus R. Moyer of Montevideo. There are still many gaps in the periodical files, and copies of the *Home Sector,* the *American Legion Weekly,* and the *Great Lakes Recruit* are particularly desired.

The state department of labor and industries now located in the Old Capitol has taken advantage of the new archives law to transfer to the custody of the society some of its noncurrent files. The material thus far received consists largely of inspectors' orders and reports, reports of special investigations, and back files of correspondence.

The records and collections of the Historical Society of the Minnesota Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, an organization which was in existence from 1857 to about 1895, have been transferred from Hamline University to the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society. The manuscript material includes: minutes of the society itself, of the Winona District Ministerial Association from 1860 to 1871, and of the district conferences of St. Paul, 1881 to 1886, and St. Cloud, 1873 to 1876; records of early missions and classes from 1840 to 1866; correspondence and papers of the Reverend Chauncey Hobart and other pioneer ministers, dating back to 1849; and a large number of reminiscent letters, papers, and sermons. It is fitting that this invaluable collection of sources for the early history of Methodism in Minnesota should be preserved alongside of similar collections relating to other denominations where it will be of the greatest use to students of the religious history of the state.

The Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association, through the courtesy of Mrs. Andreas Ueland of Minneapolis, has recently turned over the records of that organization to the society. While by no means complete, they contain a great deal of source material of value to the student of the suffrage movement in Minnesota. The official records, consisting of minutes and proceedings of the executive board, cover the years 1912 to 1914; but the correspondence file, which is made up largely of letters of politicians defining their positions on woman suffrage, covers only the year 1916. There are also a few synopses of suffrage legislation in other states, letters to the Minnesota legislature regarding suffrage matters, and written opinions of lawyers on the constitutionality of certain suffrage measures before the legislature. Accompanying these records is a series of five scrapbooks containing clippings from local and national newspapers and other publications regarding suffrage for the period from 1911 to 1918. One especially entertaining volume is made up of posters, handbills, maps, and various small booklets issued by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company and by different state organizations. The two pens used by Governor Burnquist in

signing the presidential suffrage bill and the suffrage ratification bill in 1919 have also been presented by Mrs. Ueland.

An original letter of David Colden, son of Cadwallader Colden, lieutenant-governor of New York from 1761 to 1776, and father of Cadwallader Colden, the eminent lawyer and mayor of New York City, has recently been added to the society's collection of colonial manuscripts by Mrs. Charles Neely of St. Paul, a descendant of David Colden. The letter was written by Colden to his wife, June 27, 1784, from London, whither he had gone to retrieve his losses in the Revolutionary War by claiming from the British government a reward for his loyalty to the crown. He was in poor health at the time and he died on July 10, 1784, a little less than two weeks after the date of this letter. The contents of the letter are not only full of human interest but they are also of historic value, for the writer mentions intimately a number of very prominent loyalists who were in London on a mission like his own and discusses at length their success in securing the payment of their claims. He holds out to his wife the hope of a new home the following spring in Canada or Nova Scotia, the common refuge of loyalists at this time. Only once, and then in a postscript added after hearing bad news concerning one member of his family, does he give expression to his bitterness toward the "Cursed, cursed Tyrants who drive me from my Wife & Children, & put it out of my Power to assist or comfort them."

In 1856 Edwin Whitefield, an eastern artist and promoter, traveled through the southern part of what is now Kandiyohi County in the interests of one of the numerous town-site companies of that period and assisted in selecting town sites and in naming the lakes and future towns of that region. He also made numerous water-color sketches of the scenic attractions, which were used the following winter on a lecture tour of the eastern states, where he set forth in alluring terms the wonderful opportunities which Minnesota offered to home seekers from the East. Mr. Whitefield wrote numerous articles on the same subject for the eastern papers and was in general an active promoter of immigration to the territory in the late fifties. By a happy

chance a number of his letters and papers and a representative collection of his water-color sketches of the lakes and other natural beauties of the young territory, particularly those in Kandiyohi County, have been preserved by his son, Mr. Wilfred C. Whitefield of Sauk Center, and have now, through the courtesy of Mr. Victor E. Lawson of Willmar, been presented to the society.

An old daybook of the retail firm of Whitmore and Reed of Steamboat Rock, Iowa, for the years 1870 and 1871 was included in material sent to the library by the Reverend Francis L. Palmer of Stillwater. According to the accounts of this firm sugar retailed in 1870 at seven pounds for a dollar, raisins at twenty-five cents a pound, and potatoes at seventy-five cents a bushel; but rubber boots were three dollars and a half a pair and shoes only one dollar and a half.

Three record books of the St. Paul Reading Circle, organized for social and literary purposes in 1872, recently have been presented to the society by Mrs. Charles L. Spencer. This circle was limited to thirty active members and met every other Monday evening from October until April in the homes of its members. The evenings were spent in reading the writings of Dickens, Shakespeare, Thackeray, Coleridge, and other authors of equal rank. Many names of prominent citizens appear on the membership rolls. The records presented cover the period from 1872 to 1880.

From the Thursday Musical of Minneapolis, through the courtesy of Mrs. George L. Lang, corresponding secretary, the society has received a manuscript history of the club during the first eight years of its existence, prepared by Mrs. Herbert W. Gleason, its president from 1893 to 1900. The history is a valuable record of musical activities in Minneapolis during these years, for Mrs. Gleason notes events of general interest in the world of music as well as the actual proceedings of the Thursday Musical. Of special interest are the accounts of a concert and reception in 1896 and a "Home Composers' Concert" in 1899, for the programs on both of these occasions "consisted exclusively of compositions by local musicians." A greatly condensed version

of Mrs. Gleason's history is published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 23.

"The Condition of Reservation Indians" is the title of a manuscript prepared at the request of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners by William M. Camp of Chicago, editor of the *Railway Review,* and presented by him to the society. The author's knowledge of the Indians was gained from periodic visits to their reservations covering about seventeen years. The reservations visited lie principally in the states of North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho, but occasional trips were made to the homes of the southern Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Kiowa, and Pawnee in Oklahoma.

A collection of twelve autograph letters from prominent lecturers of the decade of the sixties has been received from Mr. Arthur G. Douglass of Minneapolis. The letters were originally written to his father, the Reverend Ebenezer Douglass, while he was arranging for a lecture course under the auspices of the Congregational church of Woonsocket, Rhode Island. Schuyler Colfax, George William Curtis, Charles Sumner, Frederick Douglass, Anna E. Dickinson, Louis Agassiz, and Josiah G. Holland are the most prominent people represented. It is interesting to note that the terms ranged from fifty to one hundred dollars a lecture and that the Reverend Josiah P. Thompson of Broadway Tabernacle, New York, stated his fee as payable in " 'legal tender,' without regard to General Butler's theories of a convertible currency."

The society has received from the compilers typewritten copies of two useful bibliographies of Minnesota interest prepared for the library school of the University of Wisconsin. They are entitled: "Mesabi Iron Range of Minnesota," by Signa Niemie (19 p.), and "Ojibway Indians in Wisconsin and Minnesota," by Eva Alford (13 p.).

A typewritten copy of the "Industrial Survey of Minneapolis, Prepared by Minneapolis Civic & Commerce Association" (15 p.) was recently presented by the association. The survey is practically a sketch of the economic history of the city.

Mrs. Edwin W. Osborne of St. Paul has deposited a part of her extensive collection of articles illustrating early American domestic life with the society. Fine specimens of Bohemian glassware, old-fashioned china, a pearl-handled bouquet holder, three spinning wheels of various types, skein reels, a pair of wool carders, an old blower or bellows, dresses, and many other interesting articles are included in this valuable collection.

Two old iron broilers of the type common in pioneer days and an old-fashioned spinning wheel are gifts of Mr. Oliver Pepin of Minneapolis, from his old homestead near Bloomington.

A small walnut melodeon, which was carried on concert tours throughout Minnesota in the late sixties by the Andrews Opera Company, is the gift of Mrs. Fred W. Clayton of St. Paul.

A large wooden inkwell and penholder, said to have been used by the first territorial legislature of Minnesota, is a gift of Mrs. Charles M. Power of St. Paul.

A "notable pictorial record" of the early days of the flour-milling industry at the Falls of St. Anthony, which was displayed at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers' Association in May, has been presented to the society by Dr. Arthur M. Eastman of Minneapolis. It consists of views of the buildings of the Minnesota Flouring Mills, later known as the Island Mills, together with portraits of the founders and successive owners, including the donor's father, John W. Eastman—all mounted with explanatory captions and a brief typewritten "History of Island Mills," and in a single frame. The exhibit is reproduced in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 16.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Orlando R. Manners of St. Paul, Mrs. C. D. Fisher of Tonka Bay has added a framed tinted photograph of her brother-in-law, Captain John King of the Fifth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, to the portrait collection of the society. She has given also a sabre and several military papers of Captain King.

A crayon portrait of the late Dr. John Wright of St. Paul, a mounted group of pictures of early St. Paul, a large English

Bible of 1860, and several other interesting relics have been presented by Mrs. Frank Jerrard of St. Paul.

In the name of her late husband Mrs. Charles N. Akers of St. Paul has presented a small framed print of Colonel William Colvill, commander of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry.

Mr. Hugo V. Koch of St. Paul, past department commander for Minnesota of the United Spanish War Veterans, has recently presented a Mexican flag which was taken from San Juan prison in Vera Cruz at the time of the American occupation of that port in April, 1914.

An interesting collection of objects illustrative of life and customs in Cuba, which was gathered during the period of American occupation, from 1900 to 1902, has been presented to the museum by Miss Mary Folwell of Minneapolis. The collection includes three musical instruments, a native Cuban drum made out of a log of wood, a *guira* or gourd instrument for making a sound like that of pieces of sandpaper rubbed together, and a *bomba* or pottery jar for the deep bass notes of the modern trombone. These instruments constitute a full orchestra and give weird effects. Among the other objects are baskets for all sorts of purposes, native pottery, a sieve of yucca for sifting grain, a broom of palm leaves, a platter with the bull-fight pattern, two small silver coins used as presents to the guests at christenings, two small rag dolls, tiny figurines from the Chinese bazaar in Havana, and a fine Spanish *olla*.

Chief Justice Calvin L. Brown of the supreme court has deposited in the custody of the society a wig of the type worn by English justices on the bench. The wig was purchased in London by the Honorable Charles C. Willson of Rochester and was recently presented by him to Justice Brown.

A three-quarter length coat of mail composed of overlapping plates of horn or prepared leather, joined together with strips of brass-linked chain mail, and a fine brass helmet have recently been presented by Mr. Charles A. Dunham of St. Paul and Mr. G. M. Knisely of Mount Vernon, Washington. The helmet is of the type generally worn in southern Europe during the sixteenth

century, without special protection for the face, and shows evidence of hard usage.

Mrs. Charles L. Spencer of St. Paul has presented a fine beaded papoose carrier of Sioux workmanship, a leather belt heavily decorated with silver disks and flash metal ornaments, a claw necklace, and several other Indian articles.

The Misses Lydia and Bertha Burkhard of White Bear have deposited with the society a large, heavily beaded table cover, said to have been made by an Indian princess in Canada.

Dr. James C. Ferguson of St. Paul has deposited with the society three beautiful beaded bags of Sioux workmanship and a collection of five handsome pipestone pipes which were obtained from Sioux warriors in the late seventies and early eighties. He has also presented a fine silk dress of the early nineteenth century period, a queer little bonnet, and several other interesting articles of by-gone days.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The study of western history in Minnesota will undoubtedly receive a considerable stimulus as a result of the appointment of Dr. Clarence W. Alvord to a professorship in the University of Minnesota. Dr. Alvord, who is one of the most distinguished of American historians, has been a member of the faculty of the University of Illinois since 1901. Besides teaching, he has edited the *Illinois Historical Collections,* a set of fourteen volumes published by the Illinois State Historical Library, and the recently published *Centennial History of Illinois* in five volumes. He is also the author of the first volume of this history covering the period to the admission of the state in 1818. His most notable contribution to history, a work in two volumes entitled *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* is "a study of trade, land speculation, and experiments in imperialism culminating in the American Revolution." This was published in 1916 and, in the following year, was awarded the Loubat prize of a thousand dollars for the best work in American history published during the five years ending with 1917. Dr. Alvord has been the editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* since its foundation in 1914 and will continue to serve in that capacity, the editorial office being moved from Urbana to Minneapolis. The facilities afforded by the Minnesota Historical Society for research in western history were influential in inducing him to make the change.

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Greencastle, Indiana, April 23, 30, and May 1. The excellent program, the unusually large attendance, and the hospitality of De Pauw University, all contributed to make a very successful meeting. Chauncey S. Boucher of Ohio State University was elected president for the ensuing year. Lester B. Shippee of the University of Minnesota was chosen as one of the new members of the board of editors. The next meeting will be held at Madison, Wisconsin.

The Minnesota Territorial Pioneers' Association held its annual meeting at the Old Capitol, St. Paul, on May 11, the sixty-second anniversary of the admission of Minnesota to the Union. The gathering was attended by old settlers from all parts of the state, who exchanged tales of pioneer experiences and listened to the address of Governor Burnquist.

The annual meeting of the Hennepin County Pioneers' Association was held at the Godfrey House, Minneapolis, on June 1. The exercises and addresses commemorated the fact that on this date, seventy-one years ago, Governor Ramsey issued the proclamation declaring Minnesota Territory "to be organized and established."

"The Indian of Yesterday," a pageant of Indian forest life prepared by an Indian, De Witt Hare of Minneapolis, was presented by the Minneapolis chapter of the Society of American Indians at the West High School on June 4. The program included a lecture on "The Indian of Today," by Dr. Carlos Montezuma of Chicago.

The Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting in connection with the dedicatory exercises for Sibley State Park at Lake Andrew on June 26.

The people of Lyon County gathered at Marshall, the county seat, on June 17 and 18, to participate in a home-coming celebration and to witness an historical pageant, which marked the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of their county. The chief events in the history of the state, county, and town were depicted in the pageant.

A brief but interesting article on "Ojibway Habitations and Other Structures," by David I. Bushnell Jr., appears in the *Annual Report* of the Smithsonian Institution for 1917 (Washington, 1919). The article is illustrated with six plates of Ojibway wigwams photographed in the lake region of northern Minnesota.

Some of the results of the survey of Minnesota Indians made by Mr. Rudolf Hertz, field director of the American Indian sur-

vey for the Interchurch World Movement in Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota, appear in an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for April 18. Mr. Hertz asserts that he found "1,000 pagan Indians practicing religion of their forefathers" in the state and he points out the need for and the civilizing influence of missionaries on the reservations.

In "Another View of the Kensington Rune Stone," by Rasmus B. Anderson, in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June, the inscription is declared to be a fraud and the author tells how and by whom he believes it to have been perpetrated.

A group of notable French-Canadian historians recently have engaged in a controversy concerning the identity of the four sons of the Sieur de la Veréndrye, the substance of which appears in *Le Canada Francais,* a monthly magazine published by Laval University at Quebec. In the first of these articles (2:109–117) Auguste H. de Trémaudan presents evidence to prove that the explorer's second son, Pierre, has been erroneously known as the Chevalier; that his two younger sons, Francois and Louis-Joseph accompanied him on his most important expeditions; and that "Francois is the one who has become famous under the name of 'Chevalier de la Veréndrye.'" A reply in which the Abbé Ivanhoe Caron contends that Louis-Joseph was the Chevalier (2:170–182), is supported by Pierre-Georges Roy (3:294); and M. de Trémaudan refutes this criticism in a second article (3:286–293). An excellent outline of the controversy appears in the June number of the *Canadian Historical Review* (p. 133). M. de Trémaudan also presents his arguments in an article, written in English, which is published in the *Manitoba Free Press* of Winnipeg for April 10 (p. 45).

"Jonathan Carver and the Carver Grant," by Milo M. Quaife, the presidential address at the 1920 meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, is the leading article in the June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.* The career of the explorer is sketched in the light of the new evidence on the subject discovered by recent investigators, but the greater part of the paper is devoted to a detailed study of the involved history of the famous Carver grant. In this the author has made

use of transcripts of manuscripts of the Reverend Hugh Peters, the principal promoter of the projects based upon the alleged grant. These transcripts are in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

A history of Congregationalism in Minnesota, edited by Dr. Warren Upham, will be brought out by the Congregational Conference of Minnesota in the near future. It is to be a coöperative work with contributions from twenty-two different writers.

A paper entitled "Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi After the Civil War: A Mississippi Magnate," by Lester B. Shippee of the University of Minnesota, which was read at the 1919 meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, is published in the March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.* This valuable contribution to the history of Minnesota is based largely on material in newspaper files preserved in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society. The "magnate" whose career is sketched was Commodore William F. Davidson of St. Paul.

"A Tourist's Manual and Guide to the Scenes, Legends and Cities of the Upper Mississippi River as Known and Enjoyed by Patrons of the Diamond Jo Line Steamers. Originally Compiled for and Now Edited by Capt. Fred A. Bill," is being published serially in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, beginning April 17. In his introduction Mr. Bill explains that this "Manual" was prepared during the late eighties, but that its publication, which was intended to advertise the passenger service of the Diamond Jo Line, was indefinitely postponed when Joseph Reynolds died in 1891. The manuscript has since been in the possession of Mr. Bill, and it is now being printed for the first time. It consists of a description of the route from St. Louis to St. Paul, with legends and "reliable information concerning the scenes and cities" passed on this "pilgrimage of pleasure." In addition to presenting an interesting picture of the upper Mississippi Valley during the period when river transportation was in its prime, the "Manual" casts illuminating side lights on the social life and advertising methods of the time.

A recently inaugurated movement to mark the old Red River trail and to make it attractive to tourists, inspired a writer for the *Minneapolis Tribune* with the idea of helping to arouse interest therein by publishing extracts from two curious articles on "The People of the Red River" and "The Red River Trail," which first appeared in the issues of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for January, April, and June, 1859. Selections from these accounts of Minnesota and of the trip from St. Paul to Pembina via the famous route in the late fifties, written by a New Yorker for eastern readers, make up the greater part of an article in the *Tribune* for May 23. It is introduced by a brief historical sketch of the trail and of the trade which passed over it in Red River carts. The illustrations add distinctly to the interest of the article. They include two early views, reproduced from photographs in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, of Red River traders in St. Paul, and copies of some of the original drawings which appeared with the articles in *Harper's*.

The continuation of Willard Keyes's "Journal of Life in Wisconsin One Hundred Years Ago," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June, contains a number of references to the fur trade in Minnesota and an interesting account of a pioneer logging expedition to the Black River in Wisconsin. The installment of Miss Kellogg's "Story of Wisconsin" in this issue deals with "Politics and Statehood."

A disconnected accumulation of information about the fur trade in Minnesota and Canada is brought together in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 20 under the heading "Minnesota's International Trade War." The title refers to the rivalry between the American Fur Company and the Canadian companies; but the article contains data on such remote and scattered subjects as Pike's expedition, the Red River trail, and the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company. Pictures of a Red River train, of old Fort Snelling, and of the Falls of St. Anthony in their original state are among the illustrations.

In "Boundary Controversies between States Bordering on a Navigable River—The Minnesota-Wisconsin Case," in the *Minne-*

sota Law Review for June, Harvey Hoshour discusses both the legal and the historical aspects of the dispute over the location of the boundary in the harbor at Duluth (see *ante,* pp. 222, 381).

The University of Minnesota has published, as the first part of the *Report* of its survey commission, a pamphlet entitled *The Growth of the University in the Next Quarter Century (Bulletins,* vol. 23, no. 25. June 21, 1920. 50 p.). Although the purpose of the work is prophecy, its conclusions are necessarily based largely upon a study of the past, and it contains a wealth of data which will be valuable to students of the history of both secondary and higher education in the state. The report is the work of Rodney M. West and Leonard V. Koos of the University faculty.

"Maria Sanford's Uncompleted Autobiography," the writing of which was brought to a close by her death on April 21, is published in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Journal* beginning on May 2 and ending on June 6. Miss Sanford wrote only six chapters of her life-story, and these deal with her childhood in New England. Had she been able to complete this work, undoubtedly the later chapters would have contained much interesting information concerning the development of Minnesota's greatest educational institution. A less extensive but more complete story of Miss Sanford's life appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for April 25, in the form of an interview, by the late Caryl B. Storrs, reprinted from the *Tribune* of December 17, 1916. In this interview Miss Sanford touches upon the circumstances which led her to come to Minnesota in 1880 and tells something of the nature of her university work.

The life and work of a prominent Minnesota jurist, Judge William Mitchell, are discussed in an article by Edward Lees, commissioner of the supreme court of Minnesota, in the *Minnesota Law Review* for May. The introductory pages include a sketch of Judge Mitchell's early life and education to 1857, when he came to Minnesota and settled in Winona; an account of his career as a member of the Winona bar; and a discussion of his juristic achievements as judge of the district court of the third judicial district from 1874 to 1881, and as associate justice of the state supreme court from 1881 to 1898. Since "his opinions

while a member of that [*the supreme*] court are the principal source of his great reputation," the author devotes the greater part of the article to a technical analysis of those opinions. A portrait of Judge Mitchell forms the frontispiece of this issue of the *Review*.

"The Man Who Linked Minnesota's Past With Present," Lyman W. Ayer, is the subject of a biographical sketch in the *St. Paul Daily News* for May 23. Mr. Ayer was born near Pine City, Minnesota, in 1834, and he lived in the state almost continuously until his death a few months ago at Little Falls; thus this story of his life reflects in a sense the story of the growth and development of Minnesota. A portrait of Mr. Ayer is published with the sketch.

The scope of the records of Hennepin County, which are preserved in the court house at Minneapolis, is set forth in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 27. The first marriage record is described and the circumstances of the first civil, criminal, and juvenile cases tried in the county are stated.

The "razing of Col. King's summer home" is the occasion for an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for April 4, reminiscent of the days when Colonel William S. King lived on his farm on the outskirts of Minneapolis and raised blooded stock. The illustrations consist of pictures of the old house and some of its antique furnishings.

How it happened that "John W. Brown's Family, Portland Avenue Pioneers, Lived in Minneapolis Several Months Before They Discovered the Fact," is explained by a son, H. N. Brown of Minneapolis, in an interview published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 30. He also describes the business section and stores of early Minneapolis and tells how, when supplies were needed, it meant "a day's work to make the trip" to town from the homestead on Minnehaha Creek. A painting of his father's homestead, now in Mr. Brown's possession, is reproduced with the article.

An article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 18, inspired by the passing of the first building erected by the Young Men's

Christian Association in Minneapolis, relates some anecdotes in the history of that organization. Among the illustrations is a reproduction of an interesting old poster, evidently used by the organization in a membership drive.

The First Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis, the oldest church of that denomination in Minnesota, celebrated its eighty-fifth anniversary on June 13 at Fort Snelling, where the congregation was organized in 1835. The history of the church was traced by its present pastor, the Reverend John T. Bergen, and pictures illustrative of its development were exhibited. A somewhat detailed account of the beginnings of Presbyterianism in Minnesota and, especially, of the establishment and growth of this church is published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 13.

St. Mark's Outlook, the weekly magazine published by St. Mark's Church of Minneapolis, issued a "Consecration Number," on May 15, commemorating the consecration of the church edifice and reviewing the history of the parish. The consecration sermon of the rector, the Reverend James E. Freeman, printed therein, contains a brief historical sketch of the parish. "Reminiscences of Early St. Mark's," describing the "inception and early days" of the parish from 1858 to about 1872, are supplied by Mr. Albee Smith, "the only living member of the original St. Mark's Vestry." The greater part of this article is also published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 16. In a more complete "Historical Sketch of St. Mark's Church," the late Bishop Samuel C. Edsall records the story of the parish from its establishment to the formal opening of the present church in 1910. His narrative consists of descriptions of the successive churches used by the growing congregation, biographical notes about the various rectors and officers, and an account of the Wells' Memorial House. The volume is illustrated with exterior and interior views of the two most recent churches of St. Mark's and with portraits of some of the men who have contributed towards its welfare and growth.

Perhaps it is to be expected that Benjamin Backnumber, who is an old newspaper man, should include a large number of stories

about early newspapers and their editors in his reminiscences of "St. Paul Before This," published each week in the magazine section of the Sunday issue of the *St. Paul Daily News*. Among his recent articles of this nature are an account of the rivalry of two St. Paul editors of the early sixties, Dr. Thomas Foster and Thomas M. Newson, May 9; a character sketch of "Dick" Steele, a figure in St. Paul's journalistic world in the late eighties and early nineties, May 23; a report of the meeting, a half century ago, of the Minnesota Editorial Association, with a list of the editors who attended, June 20; and outlines of the editorial work of three "Men of Fifty Years Ago," Frederick Driscoll, J. Fletcher Williams, and James H. Davidson, June 27. Several of the other articles in this series which have appeared during the past three months are of considerable historical interest. For example, the number for April 4 describes the reception accorded to a group of notable easterners who came to St. Paul in June, 1854, on a river steamer, the War Eagle, as the guests of the Rock Island Railroad Company, and estimates the value of the publicity which the visitors gave to the booming territory upon their return to the East. Equally interesting are the accounts, published April 11 and May 16, of the review of a body of troops at Fort Snelling on July 9, 1855, which was witnessed by Senator Charles Sumner and throngs of people from surrounding communities, and of "The First Balloon Ascensions" in Minnesota, those made by William Markoe in 1857.

The April number of *The Gleam,* the publication of the John A. Johnson High School, formerly the Cleveland High School, of St. Paul, is an "Historical Number," issued to record the work of the recently organized Cleveland-Johnson Historical Association. The aims of this organization are "to preserve all items of value in the life of the school," to note its expansion, to record faculty changes, "to collect books, lectures, pictures by . . . distinguished graduates, and to keep an accurate alumni roll." Judging from the material published in this number of *The Gleam,* the society seems to have passed a fairly successful initial year. Sixteen pages are devoted to a history of the school and its activities and two and a half pages to a special history of athletics; a "Roll of Highest Honors" from 1897 to 1919 and

letters from former faculty members and alumni also are included. Illustrations of historical interest consist of portraits of principals and photographs of the buildings of the school.

The *St. Paul Daily News* for June 27 publishes an article on the services of Alpheus B. Stickney to Minnesota and especially to St. Paul. Since he was responsible for the building of the union stockyards at South St. Paul, their history is briefly outlined.

Topographic maps of three portions of Minnesota, the St. Francis Quadrangle in Anoka and Isanti counties, the Pillager Quadrangle in Cass and Morrison counties, and the Beardsley Quadrangle in Traverse and Big Stone counties have been issued recently by the United States Geological Survey. Eventually these maps will be included in a topographic atlas of the United States.

An article entitled "Ramsey State Park Scenes Recall Days When Red Men Slew and Burned," appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for April 25. It sketches the history of the famous log cabin, the nucleus of the town of Redwood Falls, which was erected by Colonel Samuel McPhail on the site he had selected for the first settlement in Redwood County. The cabin has been moved to Ramsey State Park near the town, where it will be preserved. A photograph of the cabin accompanies the article.

The history of the old Dalles House at Taylor's Falls, recently condemned as unfit for housing purposes, is outlined in an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 6. In the early days the building was used as a court house as well as a hotel; consequently a number of interesting incidents in the early history of Chisago County are included. A picture of the Dalles House accompanies the article.

Minnesalbum svenska ev. lutherska Tripolis-församlingen, Kandiyohi County, Minnesota, 1868–1918 (64 p.) is the title of a volume published in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of this rural church in Kandiyohi township and county. The credit for fashioning a consecutive narrative out of such meager records of the church as have not been lost or destroyed by fire belongs to the pastor, the Reverend Hjalmar Tillman. Copies of

the programs which marked the celebrations of the thirtieth, fortieth, and fiftieth anniversaries of the organization of the congregation are included in the volume. The illustrations consist of portraits of pastors and members of the congregation and of the various buildings of the church.

The July issue of the *American-Scandinavian Review* is an "Historical Number" and contains articles on "Kleng Peerson, the Father of Norwegian Immigration to America," by Rasmus B. Anderson; "Zachariah Poulson," by M. Atherton Leach; and "John Hanson, American Patriot," by George H. Ryden and Adolph B. Benson.

The Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase, 1803–1812, by Everett Somerville Brown, has recently appeared as volume 10 of the *Publications in History* of the University of California. It deals with the constitutional aspects of the purchase itself and with the organization and government of Orleans Territory, which became the state of Louisiana in 1812.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has begun the compilation of a "Domesday Book" of the state, which is to consist of plats of all the townships showing the first settlers on each tract of land, supplemented with information about them. The records of the United States Land Office furnish the starting point for the work and additional data is gathered by means of questionnaires distributed to schools and individuals in the localities.

H. V. Arnold's latest venture in the field of local history is *The Early History of the Devil's Lake Country, Including the Period of the Early Settlements* (Larimore, North Dakota, 1920. 106 p.). The first two chapters, which deal with the earliest explorers, the Indians, and the fur trade, apply almost equally to Minnesota and to North Dakota. The "Expedition of Jean N. Nicollet" and that portion of his map which depicts the Devils Lake region are discussed in chapter 4. In the appendix Mr. Arnold explains that "Nicollet's first name was Joseph, instead of Jean," and that "Chapter IV was printed last year at which time the error was not known to the publisher." Aside from

a brief paragraph on the extension of the Sioux Massacre into North Dakota (p. 43), little more of Minnesota interest is noted in the volume. The annals of the settlements around Stump Lake and Devils Lake during the early eighties when the region was booming form by far the most interesting and valuable part of the narrative and make up the three concluding chapters. The information contained in them has been gleaned almost entirely from two early newspapers, the *Larimore Pioneer* and the *Devils Lake Pioneer Press.*

"The First Organized Government of Dakota," by Governor Samuel Albright, in the *Western Magazine* for April and May, is a reprint, without acknowledgment, of an article in volume 8 of the *Minnesota Historical Collections.* The May issue contains also an historical sketch of "The Minnesota National Forests," which was compiled recently by Bertha L. Heilbron of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society in response to a request from the United States Forest Service.

The passing of 250 years since the charter which established the Hudson's Bay Company was granted to Prince Rupert was marked by a series of historical celebrations and pageants conducted by the company during the month of May in Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver, Victoria, and numerous trading posts scattered throughout western Canada. The festivities were opened in and about Winnipeg on May 3. The company extended its hospitality to hosts of Indians who came, dressed in their native costumes, from remote posts of the Canadian Northwest to participate in the celebration and to join officials and employees of the company and the people of Winnipeg in witnessing reproductions of scenes of the company's early activities, which were enacted in an historical pageant at Lower Fort Garry and in a flotilla of eighteen canoes and two York boats manned by Indians on the Red River. A detailed account of this celebration appeared in the *Manitoba Free Press* for May 4. The issue of the same paper for June 5 contained a description of one of the last fêtes connected with the company's anniversary celebration, that held on May 24 at Fort Alexander, a frontier post, where a thousand Indians were entertained. The anniversary and its com-

memoration are of marked interest to Minnesotans, not only because the scenes reproduced in the pageants were characteristic of fur-trading days in this state as well as in Canada, but because the story of Lord Selkirk and his Red River Colony forms an intimate link between the history of Minnesota and that of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The "Veterans of 1866–'70 and 1885 and the Old Settlers of the Red River Valley" of Canada held their annual reunion in Winnipeg on May 4, in connection with the celebration of the Hudson's Bay Company. The names of persons who attended the meeting, arranged chronologically according to dates of arrival in the region, are published with an account of the reunion in the *Manitoba Free Press* for May 5.

Empire Day, 1920, a pamphlet issued by the department of education of the Province of Manitoba at Winnipeg (28 p.), commemorates the anniversaries of three important events in the history of the province: the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company, the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Lord Selkirk, and the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of Manitoba as a "Province of the Dominion of Canada." The story of their northern neighbor is naturally of interest to Minnesotans. Furthermore, the histories of the state and of the province overlap in a number of instances; and even in so brief a sketch as that contained in the present pamphlet, events of significance in Minnesota history are included. For example, two pages are devoted to the "Selkirk Settlers" and their tragic struggle with the Northwest Company; and mention is made of the annual arrival of a packet of mail at Fort Garry "overland from the States in the winter" until 1853 when "a monthly service was started from Fort Ripley," and of the first steamboat "to ply between Fort Abercrombie on the Red River in Minnesota, and Fort Garry, in 1861" (p. 15). Since the pamphlet was prepared for distribution among the school children of Manitoba, the narrative, which is written in an extremely simple style, takes in only outstanding events and characters, and the illustrations are given decided prominence. The pictures of greatest Minnesota interest are those of Lord Selkirk,

of a Red River cart, and of a buffalo hunt. The pamphlet is to be commended as an excellent means of familiarizing the growing citizens of Manitoba with the history of their province and with the activities of the men who laid its foundations. Such a pamphlet might well be published in Minnesota to acquaint the youth of the state with the salient points in its history and to commemorate the Fort Snelling centenary.

War History Activities

The thousands of service records received by the Minnesota War Records Commission in connection with applications for the state bonus have been sorted by counties and work has been commenced upon the drawing up of check lists for use in the completion of these files. The importance of this work was enhanced when it became apparent that applicants for the bonus had not filled out the commission's questionnaire in all cases, and that a few thousand must be reached, as originally planned, through the medium of the county war records committees.

Among recent acquisitions by the commission of material relating to group activities may be noted: the headquarters files of correspondence and records relating to the war activities of the Minnesota branch of the Young Women's Christian Association, typewritten summaries of the work of the Red Cross chapters of Morrison and Winona counties, and a card index record of women student volunteer workers organized by the department of home economics of the agricultural college of the University of Minnesota for the purpose of arranging exhibits and giving demonstrations in the work of food conservation.

From James P. Dudley of St. Paul, formerly first lieutenant and, for a time commanding officer of Company G, 350th United States Infantry, 88th Division, the commission has received a valuable collection of original documents relating to the history of his company and covering the entire period of its training at Camp Dodge and of its activities in France, where it saw action in so-called "quiet" sectors at the front. Among other things in the collection may be noted: a set of rosters of the company,

showing changes in personnel from month to month; several series of orders, bulletins, circulars, and memoranda received by the company commander from divisional, brigade, and regimental headquarters; copies of field messages sent during the progress of the fighting; and individual service records of a few members of the company. A number of bulletins received from corps headquarters contain matter designed for use by the company's officers in counteracting the effects of various kinds of propaganda detrimental to the morale of the army. Special mention should be made of a series of detailed topographical maps, supplied for use in the field, of the regions about St. Mihiel, Wassy, Nancy, Gondecourt, Mulhouse, Metz, and Mort Mare, and of large military maps illustrative of the St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne offensives. Group photographs of Company G and Company H and the supply company of the 350th Infantry are among numerous other items included in the collection.

War histories of Becker, Freeborn, and Mower counties have been placed in the historical library through the kindness of the publishers, Daniel Nelson of Detroit, the Albert Lea Publishing Company (C. E. Wood, compiler), and the *Austin Herald* (John H. and Gertrude E. Skinner, editors). Valuable supplementary material, consisting of originals of soldiers' portraits reproduced in the book, accompanied the Becker County history. While all three of these histories conform more or less to the type that is becoming conventional, each has its unique features; and the Mower County volume, particularly, appears to have covered its field in an unusually thorough, and certainly in an interesting, manner. It is encouraging, also, to note in each case some trace of the influence of suggestions made by the war records commission.

The Ramsey County branch of the Minnesota War Records Commission, Colonel Haydn S. Cole of St. Paul, chairman, has undertaken to prepare and publish a history of St. Paul and Ramsey County in the World War. According to present plans about half of the volume will be devoted to an historical narrative, moderately illustrated, covering the essential features of all phases of the community's contribution to the winning of the

war; the remainder to a roster, with brief records of the services, of all Ramsey County soldiers, sailors, marines, and army welfare workers. Franklin F. Holbrook, secretary of the state commission, has been placed in charge of the work as director of the Ramsey County War Records Commission and editor of the projected history.

Brief biographical sketches of the seventeen former students of the agricultural college of the University of Minnesota, who lost their lives in the service, and whose names appear on the bronze tablet recently placed in the auditorium at the University Farm, will be kept in a permanent file at the college, according to an article which appeared in the *Minnesota Farm Review* of May 6. Seven of the sketches already on file are summarized in the article.

In the publication of a *History of Buffalo and Erie County, 1914–1919* (733 p.), prepared under the auspices of a committee of one hundred citizens, the city of Buffalo, New York, has set an example which may well be followed by other large cities of the country in compiling records of patriotic achievement during the late war. The book furnishes an admirable account, handsomely illustrated and well supplied with maps and charts, of the various ways in which the people of that community contributed to the winning of the war, and concludes with a two hundred and forty page roster of the names and some indication of the services of all Buffalo and Erie County men and women who served as members or associates of the armed forces of the nation.

Occasional bits of news from other state war records agencies show that the work of collecting records of state and local participation in the World War is going forward slowly but persistently in communities throughout the country. One of the notable developments in the work appears to be the increasing reliance placed by official state agencies upon the efforts of their local volunteer committees. An evidence of this is the periodical issuance in many cases of circulars or bulletins for the guidance of such committees. For example, the war records section of the Illinois State Historical Library issues monthly a *War Rec-*

ords Bulletin, and the war history department of the California Historical Survey Commission stimulates and directs local activity through the medium of an occasional *Information Circular.* Also, as in a number of states, the California commission has issued a printed pamphlet containing a *Suggested Outline for a State or County War History* together with other matter designed to arouse and give definite direction to public interest in the subject.

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THE FAMILY TRAIL THROUGH AMERICAN HISTORY[1]

Where were you in 1718? There is a pleasant question. Try it upon some friend tomorrow and watch his face as it reveals, first, his wonder whether you are quite sane; next, his perception that you really mean something by the question; and at last, his interested but curiously uncertain realization that the question is entertaining and important.

In 1818? You were somewhat scattered, possibly. In 1718 you were rather thoroughly dispersed, and in 1618 fairly well mingled with humanity.

In 1818 you were walking abroad, probably, in the guise of four grandparents. In 1718 you were looking at the world out of, say, thirty-two pairs of eyes; whereas very likely in 1618 some ten hundred and twenty-four individuals, all unwitting, had the honor of being directly your ancestors. Some of the younger ones here had many more in that year; I see some others, however, who had not more than two hundred and fifty-six. Even so many makes a goodly gathering.

[1] This paper is printed as read at an open meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society on December 9, 1918, by Cyril Allyn Herrick.

Mr. Herrick was born May 28, 1885, at Ashburnham, Massachusetts, the son of the Reverend Austin Henrie and Sarah Leonora (Prouty) Herrick. Through his mother his ancestry runs back to the "Mayflower," the English lines subsequently blending with Huguenot and Ulster-Irish strains, while on his father's side he was descended from Ephriam Hereck of Beverly, Massachusetts, son of Henerie Hericke, fifth son of Sir William Heyricke, who was born in 1557, the eleventh of the twelve children of John Eyrick or Heyrick of Leicester, of the eleventh recorded generation of Herricks, who first prefixed an H to the family name, and who died in 1589.

But the tracing of his ancestry did not occupy the author's attention until the last years of his life. Learning to read by incessantly questioning his parents before they thought it time to teach him his letters, Mr. Herrick was ever after an eager student. His health was always frail and his work at school, to which he was first sent at the age of eight,

Now it's not merely pretty poetry, it is also adequate biology, that in some sense we existed in our forbears, saw what they saw, did what they did, felt what they felt. Hence a just curiosity to know what it was that we saw, did, and felt at any given period of the past. Almost anybody, I find, will presently rise to the question with which I began: Where were you in 1718? All people seem to have this instinctive interest in ancestry; many of them are at first unaware of their own curiosity in the matter; many a person cannot recall the given names of all four of his grandparents, or the maiden names of his two grandmothers. Few indeed are those who can tell right off the names of their eight great-grandparents. Very much more rare, however, is he who, once his attention is called to his ignorance at this point, does not keep on uneasily asking questions and writing letters until he finds out not only who these great-grandparents were, but likewise what they did for a living, where they dwelt, and if possible what they were like.

The man thus aroused is in a fair way to become a student of history, for where now can his curiosity stop? Desire to

frequently interrupted. In 1904 he graduated at the head of his class in the high school at Hudson, Massachusetts. His college course was begun at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, interrupted by illness, and completed by three years' work at Harvard, where he took his degree, *summa cum laude,* in 1910, with highest honors in English.

For two years he was instructor, then assistant professor, of English literature at Ohio Wesleyan University. In 1914, after serious illness, he went to the University of Wisconsin as instructor in rhetoric, only to have his work again interrupted for a year by ill health. In 1915 he came to the University of Minnesota as instructor in rhetoric, and was made assistant professor in 1919. He died January 2, 1920, at Tucson, Arizona, where he had gone hoping to recover from the effects of an attack of influenza in the year before.

Originally taken up as a diversion during tedious months of convalescence, possibly in search of the answer to the query whimsically expressed to his brother in 1909, as to "where we got these various traits, anyway," the study of genealogy had become for him a very real and living joy; and this paper reveals his unfailing interest in the human aspects of every subject he investigated.—*Asbury H. Herrick*

know about great-grandfather, any one of the four, creates even keener curiosity about his parents, and the investigator ever enlarges the circle of his interests until the study of his ancestry merges imperceptibly into the study of local, state, and national history. Presently this student of family history has a comprehension of the kinship of men; he is likely to have a keener social zeal; he is sure to have an ever-widening knowledge of history. He has luckily lost his old feeling that he is just John Smith, latest of a long line of Smiths. He has become as much interested in his mother's maternal grandmother, Mary Jones, as in his father's paternal grandfather, Thomas Smith. He no longer thinks of himself as the end of a long straight line; he now more intelligently sees himself the center of a circle without circumference (as the symbolical circular chart of the modern genealogist reveals); he has melted into all history. Keen, at the outset, only for facts concerning immediate ancestry, he has soon acquired a good working knowledge of the history of his state and of his country. And he will never stop with that.

It is an interesting process, that started by the question I began with. "Where was I in 1718?" To me that is as interesting as, "Where shall I be in 2118?" It is a sort of reversed immortality I speak for tonight.

Some of you may be professional students of history, and have perhaps from the beginning been by the grace of God enabled to contemplate history in a large, philosophical way. Will such of you please listen with forbearance as I put in my word for those who, having in the first place small enthusiasm for history, must come to their enjoyment of it by humble approaches and insensible degrees.

In addressing you who are experts in history I need not labor to drive home the fact that most people know, and wish to know, nothing of history. From a class of thirty normally intelligent students at the University of Minnesota one day last week I drew the information that Hannibal (some of them spelt him Cannibal) was a Roman author, that Bismarck

was an American writer and ambassador to England, that Buddha was a Turkish god, Alexander the Great an Egyptian admiral, and John Paul Jones an English pirate (which he may have been). Two out of thirty attached some meaning to the name of Von Moltke, and not one had ever heard of Algernon Sidney. In another class, of thirty-three, three had some notion, and that very hazy, as to the significance of the name of Ralph Waldo Emerson. I'm not scolding nor wandering from my subject. The point is clear: people, even those above the average in education and opportunity, know little, as things are, about history. We will probably agree that they might well know more. I am suggesting tonight a way in which they can know more, a way by which the average person can be lured, all unwitting, into a reasonable knowledge of and liking for the history of his own state and country, and perhaps of others.

Now there are in the world a great many people who are interested most of all in themselves and their own kin. Formerly moralists used to deplore this fact; nowadays, more opportunist in spirit, they see in this "enlightened self-interest" a prime cause of worthy human endeavor. In any case, since it exists, why not utilize it? This interest in self leads a man to get shelter and food for himself and his own people first—leads him to strive unceasingly for necessities and presently for comforts. As students of history we should bless the selfish instincts which stirred him to all this endeavor, for that labor was prerequisite to any material for historical interest and study.

Bradford could not sit down to write his history of Plymouth Colony until his huts were built, his crops sown and harvested, his courts established, all his transplanted civilization under way. A generation of zealous, and in one sense selfish, toil came between the landing in 1620 and the penning of the first adequate history of the Great Experiment. And after Bradford wrote, a century more had to pass before many people had leisure to read what he had written.

A good deal of apparently selfish interest and activity is then prerequisite if historians are to write or students study. Happily, this self-interest almost invariably exists, for doing things, for recording them, and for studying the records. It is easy to utilize this interest in self for winning people to historical interests.

A baby is interested first in himself, his immediate sensations. Gradually he comes to notice his parents, the room in which he finds himself, the house, the green world revealed through the windows of the house, people walking around, many of them, outside the original line of his perception. His life is to consist in an eternal enlarging of the circle of his sensations, attention, interests.

This is logical; this is properly evolutionary. Why not take advantage of this scheme of nature's in furthering the study of history?

How then does all this apply?

There is much pleasure in talking with people. You meet Mr. John Green in the lobby of The Saint Paul. You know that he is an old Philistine, remarkably material and immediate in his interests, not at all the sort of man you'd expect to talk history with you.

"Have you lived long in this state, Mr. Green?" you innocently ask.

"All my life, sir, and most of it in St. Paul." And with considerable gusto, he begins a half-hour's monologue as to his life and career in Minnesota. He brings in a good bit of general local history along with the numerous, and quite possibly wearisome, personal details.

Presently he lets fall the fact that his father was a pioneer here in the Northwest country. Spurred this way and that by an occasional judicious question, the hard-headed old gentleman reveals some little pride in the fact that his father and he were out here during the various Indian disturbances, interesting stories of which he can pour forth galore. A few moments ago Mr. Green would indignantly have repudiated any

suggestion that he might be interested in history; yet lo! here he is, telling with zest some sort of early Minnesota territorial and state history. To be sure, it is territorial and state history as relating to his father and family; unquestionably it is a history marvelously mingled with a tradition frequently lurid and partly incredible. It is history, nevertheless, and of a sort far less personal and petty than that with which Mr. Green began his talk half an hour ago. You have gleaned many an interesting anecdote as your reward.

As you leave him, you guilefully ask: "How did your father happen out into this part of the world?" Mr. Green very possibly is by no means sure what it was that drew his father hither. "Land hungry, probably."

"And where did your father come from?"

"Western Reserve somewhere. Don't remember the place exactly. Grandfather died out there."

(Don't be surprised at such indefiniteness as to geography. People innumerable have no precise notion as to where their own parents have lived.)

"How did your grandfather happen to be there?"

"Haven't the least idea. I wonder though . . ."

Yesterday Mr. Green would not have thought twice of the matter. Today, having been properly led on, he feels stirring, germinating, that curiosity which is to be so fruitful.

You run across the practical, matter-of-fact Mr. Green a fortnight later. After talking a while about the war and the weather, presently in a casual and semi-apologetic fashion:

"By the way," he says, "you remember we were talking about my grandfather the other day?" (*We* were talking,—much talking he would have done on his own initiative.) "Well," he goes on, "I looked him up a little. Got rather interested when you asked about him and thought you might like to know."

(That's your penalty; they'll always say, these Mr. Greens, they are gratifying your curiosity. As a matter of fact they

are by now keen on the scent for their own sakes, and tickled to pieces to get someone to hear them maunder on.)

"My old cousin back East writes me that grandfather's name was Epaphroditus Green."

(You'd have expected him to have remembered a name like that. But no. Only a few days ago I found a man who had forgotten that his grandfather was named Ichabod, and a woman who had never heard the name of a grandfather called Orange.)

"His name was Epaphroditus Green, and he lived in Conneaut, Ohio, in the Western Reserve, as they called it. He owned quite a lot of land out there. Interesting old fellow, too, from some things my cousin writes." And he chuckles at reminiscence of certain quaint anecdotes in the letter.

You have landed Mr. Green now. Before he knows it, he will have learned something of United States history, and this is how it will happen. Properly prodded by an apt, occasional query, he will burst out: "Say now, I wonder how old Epaphroditus happened to be out there in the Reserve. I've always understood that way back my folks came from New England—from Connecticut, I think they used to tell me. How'd he come to be in the Reserve? What is the Western Reserve, anyway?"

A perfectly natural process, you see. Here is Mr. Green asking, or about to ask, all kinds of large, general historical questions. He had merely a very personal toehold back there a fortnight ago, and already, in two weeks, he has jumped into the midst of some valuable American history. Now is your chance.

You tell Mr. Green that right here in St. Paul, up on the hill by the Capitol, he can find a highly serviceable historical society that will put him on the track of what he wants. He has always supposed the historical library was a somewhat expensive, possibly extravagant, architectural gem set up there to delight the souls of an elect few *of whom he was not.* Now he gets the notion that there is something for him there. His

self-interest is still working, but in a less directly personal way now.

Some day, pretty soon too, he will drop into the reading room and ask for the history of the Ohio county in which Conneaut is. He never knew before that county histories were so numerous as they are here to be found; still less had he suspected that away out here in the West there was any such collection. What is his delight to find in his newly discovered treasure portraits of Epaphroditus Green, of great-uncle Erastus Green, and not impossibly of great-grandfather Pliny Green. I've seen more than one or two people filled with delight at finding in our library, hundreds of miles from their ancestral homes, portraits in the local histories of their ancestors and other relatives, pictures they had never seen and never knew to exist. Hereafter they can remark casually: "Over in the state historical society there is a portrait of my grandfather." It sounds well and inevitably suggests a large oil canvas hanging in our stately halls here. Coming back to Mr. Green. He finds the afternoon too brief for the contenting of his continually whetted spirit of inquiry. He has now learned in a by-the-way fashion, what the Western Reserve was, how it happened to fall to Connecticut, and how the Connecticut folks emigrated in great numbers to the Lake Shore region in the early years of the last century. With no conscious effort, Mr. Green has soaked in a good amount of exceedingly vital American history.

He has been led beyond the history of Ohio. The book about Conneaut remarked in a footnote that Pliny Green had come to the Reserve from Wethersfield, Connecticut, and was the son of Henry Green of that place. Somewhat hesitantly, our friend thereupon asks the attendant if she can provide him with anything to enlighten him as to Wethersfield and Henry Green. At once he is swamped. Laden with the *History and Genealogies of Wethersfield,* and with the thick Green genealogy which she brings, he staggers back to his table, catches his breath, resumes work, and before long has traced the

Greens clearly back to the year 1635, when Zebulon Green the first came from England, took up his abode for a time in Cambridge, only to remove presently in the company of Hooker to the wilderness out by the "Conecticot" River.

It is with a real pleasure that Mr. Green reaches this goal. In order properly to comprehend what he has read about his ancestors in their various wanderings and residences he has had, of necessity, to learn much about the original settlements in New England, about the migrations from colony to colony, about the steady westward urge from the later colonial period on. He's learned it in reverse fashion, surely, but chronology is equally serviceable by whichever end you get hold of it.

But Green feels some chagrin at learning that his particular lineage gleams with no bright stars. Uniformly his progenitors have been plain husbandmen, obscure pioneers entirely undistinguished in career. Not until some weeks later, when he has studied out several more of his ancestral lines and found them predominantly of this humdrum element, will he develop a wholesome proletarian pride in the great mass of mankind of whom he is so unmistakably one. At the moment he is disappointed, and looks around for some more striking star for his crown. No direct Green ancestor was so thoughtful as even to figure in the lists of Revolutionary soldiers. But hold on; now he can vaguely remember that Grandmother Carter, his mother's mother, used to talk about her father's gun that he had at Valley Forge. There follows a search through Carter ancestry that gratifyingly reveals a daring Revolutionist, and likewise a famous Carter soldier, a direct ancestor, who fought in several Indian wars.

Snared as he now is, Mr. Green isn't going to trace out these militant forefathers without gaining at the same time a pretty detailed knowledge of the various colonial wars and of the great war with England. Better yet, in his efforts to discover why some ancestral family, just after the Revolution, appeared unexpectedly in an obscure corner of the Berkshires, he will get some notion of the difficult economic and social conditions

which for a time led our forefathers to question the wisdom and desirability of the Revolution itself, conditions which drove the harassed farmers, say from the fertile fields of southern Connecticut into the relentless forests to the northward. He will learn of the continued economic pressure which sent the next generation into the woods of western New York, across Pennsylvania and Ohio, and on, and on. He will read how land grants to the veterans of 1812 lured settlers into the Illinois country, where the Virginia strain was brought into the Green stock—for Mr. Green's father had spent a couple of seasons in Illinois on his way from the Reserve to the Northwest.

In short, ranging thus backwards and forwards through the history of his country, Mr. Green will come to understand what economic and social chances brought it about that he, the eminent and highly respectable John Green, was brought into being out here in the northwest prairies. That's a pleasant thing to know. He is going to have a completer conception of human life; more important, he is going to have an acuter sense of his personal relation to the past and present, than in any other way he could possibly have. A thousand generalizations about history do not so truly constitute knowledge thereof as some sudden, intimate, personal, revealing appreciation of one's own connection with history, any history, all history.

The study of one's family leads insensibly and alluringly to a genuine, because personal and immediate, interest in history, an interest which is essential if history is ever to be to us more than perfunctory, useless information. Tell me that this country was agitated by serious internal disturbances shortly after the Revolution and I have learned a bit of general historical knowledge, but am not particularly impressed therewith. Tell me that Grandfather Darius Jenkins was hanged ignominiously for his part in the Whiskey Rebellion, and all of a sudden I have *realized* a bit of history. That first and generalized

historical statement henceforth is a vitalized and productive part of my historical equipment.

Will you permit me now a few random illustrations of the felicities of this method of historical approach.

I see among you a lady who cannot search very far into her ancestry without getting a good hold of American history. A certain gentleman whom I take to have been either in her direct ancestry or of close collateral connection was an agent in old Virginia for certain large planters in that colony. To follow the fortunes of that ancestor, she must understand in some detail the peculiar Virginia system of colonization. She can hardly learn about that without at the same time hearing something of the contrasting systems of other colonies. Before she knows it, she will have a sufficient knowledge of our early American institutions.

I know another woman whose grandfather had been in Congress in the period between Abraham Lincoln's election and his inauguration. This gentleman had championed a compromise measure to avert civil war. As a result his political career was ruined. He soon died, and his political reputation suffered in popular memory. This woman, having certain matters of family tradition in her knowledge, undertook to clear her grandfather's memory of all stain. To make her efforts more effective, she had perforce to learn more particularly about that strange tumultuous period just before the outbreak of the war. Inevitably she was soon studying what preceded the war, as well as the reconstruction period following. To have the seal of authenticity stamped upon her knowledge she took certain courses at the university and extended her researches fore and aft. A striking instance this of the way in which interest in one point of family history can lead one into a thorough-going survey of all American history.

History so learned, sticks, largely because it *is* learned incidentally and not for its own sake.

Again: Last week I was dogging the traces of an ancestor of my own, one Captain Gorham, who fell in the Narragansett

swamp in King Philip's War of 1676. I came upon a copy of a letter written to the military authorities of the Massachusetts Colony by a certain Lieutenant Phinehas Upham. Now I happen to know that this Lieutenant Upham was an ancestor of our eminent geologist and archeologist, Mr. Warren Upham. It gives rather an edge to my admiration and respect for Mr. Upham to know that back there in 1676 his grandfather had to kotow to my grandfather. That is a delight by-the-way. Here is the main point. In homely phrase, quaint and affecting, the letter tells how, in the campaign in pursuit of the Indian enemy, food has become scarce, horses weary, men worn, and eager to get home. The letter conveys a lively, and what I call immediate, sense, feeling, appreciation of the hardships endured in that war by Captain Gorham and Lieutenant Upham, men in whom I feel an especial and, in one sense, personal interest. They were there in that struggle—that is, I was there—and this letter renews a sort of ancestral memory of what I there saw and endured. At once the period of King Philip's War becomes genuinely alive, vivid to my apprehension.

As a scholar in the high school, when I read that during the war of 1676 the settlers endured great hardships, I possibly had added an item to my knowledge of history, but I certainly yawned. That was an academic statement, too remote in appeal to linger in my memory to any effect.

Some day you learn that an ancestor of yours was in the Revolution. Writing to the record office in Washington, you get a statement of his service. He was perhaps in the romantic attempt of Arnold to capture Quebec. You tell your boy, when the lad reaches the story age, how Grandfather William was in that strange northward push through the wilderness to the Canadian stronghold, how he was captured and shut up for loathsome weeks in the hateful prison, and so on. That boy has now a realizing sense of the Revolutionary War which a school course in history will never give him, in the very nature of things can't give him. And with no prompting, that

boy will sometime pick up a volume telling of the expedition to Quebec. To understand that book more fully, he will have to read about other phases of the Revolutionary War; and in no time, impelled by immediate interest, he will have a good usable knowledge of the eighteenth century.

Very seldom will people sit down to learn history, just like that, for its own sake. Personal interest, however, family pride, curiosity as to this person and that event, can tempt one into a knowledge of any period of history.

I know a man who has an unusually realistic feeling of the Revolutionary War because his grandmother used to tell him how she had seen a mob of British redcoats, prisoners, herded past her father's house under the guard of ragged but hilarious "rough-neck" Continentals. That bit of family tradition did more for him than all the conventional history of the text-books—that and the added fact that his grandmother's father was forced to abandon his farm and take to a distant locality, because of the depredations and rascalities of the American Continentals. Nor was he any Tory at that.

Recently a friend of mine became rather piqued at being unable to find proof that any ancestor of his in the name line had ever taken part in any war from 1640 down to the present. Not that my friend wished to join any patriotic society. He distinctly did not. But he did covet some sign of belligerency on the part of at least one of his name ancestors. I looked into the matter, and one day found a record like this (the name is changed):

"Pay Roll of Capt. John Wheatley's company in the first Conn. Regt. Last Campaign 1762.

"Jonathan Williams. Enlisted Ma 25. Deserted before Mar 30." That was all of it. That was the complete military record of one line of Americans during the entire period of American history.

At first blush my friend was not overwhelmingly enthusiastic at my discovery. But now followed a genuine enlargement of our knowledge of history. We naturally wished to

know why Jonathan deserted. Was there any means of restoring him to the respect and esteem that we instinctively wish to bestow upon an ancestor?

We learned that in this year 1762, near the close of one of the eternally recurring colonial wars which merely reflected the conflicts in Europe of rival powers, King George III, newly come to the throne, decided to send his American troops against Spain's colony at Havana, Cuba. (How many knew about this long-ago war with Spain? It was relatively much more noteworthy than our skirmish in '98.) One thousand men were to be sent from Connecticut. Now it was not a popular war. Furthermore, the odds against a man's returning were tremendous. Connecticut men were enlisted by methods smacking of coercion. Of the company into which Jonathan was enlisted, some dozen deserted. Lucky for them, for the merest handful of that company, or indeed of the entire regiment, ever returned from the West Indian seas. One of the most lamentable disasters it was that ever befell American troops. In no subsequent war have we known anything more strikingly tragic. Yet the affair is forgotten now.

That was one unique and attractive item of historical knowledge added to our store. Further investigation led us to doubt there being any especial wisdom or justice in England's whole policy at that time. Finally my friend and I asked each other this question: If it is a matter of glorious pride to have an ancestor who fought King George III in 1776, why may we not be equally proud of one who deserted King George's unworthy cause in 1762?

Was this deserting Jonathan a coward? Two months after he deserted he married. That was brave. Soon with wife and small children he made his way to a seemingly hopeless wild in a most inhospitable part of a distant state, and there among hardships innumerable brought up a sturdy family, made for himself a goodly home, and won honorable position among the neighbors who soon followed and surrounded him in the new home.

Cowardly Jonathan! And characteristic American history!

Thus does the study of one's ancestry lead to a more minute knowledge of history, and to a largely modified and humanized interpretation thereof.

In all seriousness, then, I urge the study of one's own family as an unwontedly pleasant, effective, feasible means of learning the history of one's own town, state, and nation.

If you say that not every one has leisure for such study I reply: There is no particular reason why everyone should know history. Certainly many know nothing of it now. However, most of us *find* leisure, in some fashion, for what interests us. If we can study history at all, we certainly can go about its study in the way I advocate, no greater leisure being required for that than for any other method. And the results are more sure and gratifying.

If you say that this method of approaching history isn't adapted to be of service in schools and colleges, I answer: Heaven forbid. Nobody ever learns anything in school—at least not of value or for long. Education begins after we escape from school. As for colleges, each history department ought to have a chair of genealogy—but that's a subject for another paper.

Do you say: But material for the study of family history isn't everywhere accessible? In any case, such objection has small weight here in Minnesota. As one practical application of my talk tonight, why not with renewed zeal advertise the fact that in our historical library we have one of the finest collections of family and local history in existence—only three or four others to rank with it here in America? The thousands of us who have access to this library are, then, in a position to take every advantage of this curiosity, which I steadfastly maintain is instinct in most of us—the curiosity as to ancestry which is the properest stimulus to the gaining of a general knowledge of history.

That this is learning history backwards, is a last feeble objection. To be sure it is. That's the way we learn most things

in this world. Forget for a moment your theoretical knowledge learned in school. Think of the larger amount of information that you have picked up by chance, incidentally, or sporadically, things you have learned because of some momentary interest, or as means to some ulterior end. Isn't this last the body of information that is of real value and service to you in your living?

It is later, it is after whim and chance interest have put us in possession of the facts—only then can we rearrange our learnings chronologically and contemplate the results philosophically. Then is the time for the conventional historical treatise, which is highly serviceable for the organizing of the information we have previously gained. But to get that information is the first task, to get it sidewise, backwards, or however it may chance. I have tried tonight to point out a delightsome and eminently human method of getting our history in the first place.

If my subject were other than it is, I should love to celebrate the way in which genealogy leads inevitably into biology and eugenics, into sociology, into economics. It does so, more directly and efficiently than you can believe if you haven't looked into the matter. But most striking of all is the service of genealogy as an interpreter of the boundless dream of American history.

And what an inspiring history it is—none more so! I am humbly grateful to the science that revealed the vision to me —the comprehensive vision of these yeomen and cavaliers and peasants, gathering there between the Appalachians and the sea, toiling and swarming into existence a new civilization; then dauntlessly streaming across the mountains, pushing their relentless way through the plains of the middle west, northerners and southerners jostling, clashing, mingling endlessly; not balked in their westerward way even by the "Thou shalt not" of the Rockies; pouring across the last obstacle until they stand upon America's sunset shore, conquerors of the continent.

Have the elder races halted?
Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied over there beyond the seas?
We take up the task eternal, and the burden and the lesson,
Pioneers! O pioneers!

All the past we leave behind,
We debouch upon a newer mightier world, varied world,
Fresh and strong the world we seize, world of labor and the march,
Pioneers! O pioneers!

We detachments steady throwing,
Down the edges, through the passes, up the mountains steep,
Conquering, holding, daring, venturing as we go to the unknown ways,
Pioneers! O pioneers!

We primeval forests felling,
We the rivers stemming, vexing we and piercing deep the mines within,
We the surface broad surveying, we the virgin soil upheaving,
Pioneers! O pioneers!

. . . . . .

See my children, resolute children,
By those swarms upon our rear we must never yield or falter,
Ages back in ghostly millions frowning there behind us urging,
Pioneers! O pioneers!

Yes, I see this mighty westward moving mass of Whitman's. But it isn't only as a vague and indeterminate crowding of mankind that I vision it. I see and recognize individuals here and there, my grandfathers marching with their fellows, welcome faces of known kin, through whom, because of whom, I feel myself a part of American history, truly at home wherever I may be in this vast western world.

CYRIL A. HERRICK

THE EARLY NORWEGIAN PRESS IN AMERICA*

The history of the early Norwegian press in the United States and the related problem of the early political affiliations of the Scandinavians in the Northwest have received serious attention recently at the hands of several writers.[1] Handicapped by the absence of adequate files of the earlier newspapers of which they have written, these writers have, perhaps unavoidably, been guilty of many inaccuracies. One wonders not that errors have crept into their accounts, but rather that no earnest effort has been made to collect files of the newspapers in question and make them available for research in some centrally located depository.

Students of the Scandinavian element and its part in the history of the American West have utilized very slightly the newspapers and periodicals issued by the Scandinavian press in this country. Unquestionably, however, these materials

* Read at the stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, October 11, 1920.

1 Particularly noteworthy is the careful article by Mr. Carl Hansen, "Pressen til Borgerkrigens slutning," in Johannes B. Wist, *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914*, 1–40 (Decorah, Iowa, 1914). Mr. Hansen presents a detailed study of the Norwegian press to the close of the Civil War. The same author issued two preliminary studies of the subject in 1907 and 1908, which may be found in *Symra*, 4:25–44 (1908) and *Kvartalskrift*, 3:14–28 (January, 1907). Much of Mr. Hansen's information on the newspapers issued from 1847 to 1853 is derived from a sketch which appeared in *Emigranten* (Inmansville, Wisconsin) as early as May 20, 1853. Mr. Albert O. Barton contributes some significent new facts in his article "The Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1916, pp. 186–212; also issued as separate number 174. An excellent general survey of the Norwegian press in America is given in Juul Dieserud, "Den norske presse i Amerika. En historisk Oversigt," in *Normands-Forbundet*, 5:153–176 (April, 1912). Wist in his article "Pressen efter borgerkrigen," in *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914*, 40–203, deals exhaustively with the history of the Norwegian-American press after the Civil War.

constitute the most important sources of information in existence on that particular phase of American history. It is not generally known, for example, that the Norwegian element in the United States has not been without a newspaper of its own, regularly issued, since 1847.[2] Most of the time since that date it has in fact possessed not one, but many; and in recent years, scores. Only in the forties and the fifties was the number limited to a handful. Thereafter the Norwegian press expanded with great rapidity, especially during the period of the great wave of immigration from the seventies onward. A complete bibliography of these newspapers and periodicals, covering the last seventy-three years, would include probably more than five hundred titles, and certainly more than four hundred.[3]

Comparatively few of the earlier newspapers have been preserved. Most of those that have escaped destruction are not at present very accessible. Although files of the later newspapers are not so difficult to find, there is no library where a student can use many of even the more important ones. This situation, coupled with a failure on the part of some writers to understand the historical value of newspapers, partly explains the absence of a comprehensive and accurate study of the Norwegian element in our population.

The purpose of the present brief paper is merely to call attention to the fact that files of some of the early Norwegian-American newspapers are in existence; to tell where these are and how complete they are; and incidentally to bring out some new facts which an examination of these files has revealed. The writer has urged, as a solution of the problem of the his-

2 There were one or two brief intervals of a few weeks in the very early period when no newspapers were being published by Norwegian-Americans. But with these exceptions the general statement holds.

3 The index of *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festkrift 1914,* contains the names of 394 Norwegian-American newspapers and periodicals, most of them Norwegian language publications. A considerable number of titles are omitted, however. In the book referred to no attempt is made to locate files of the newspapers mentioned.

torical records of the Scandinavians in the United States, the concentration of these materials in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society.[4] He takes the liberty to suggest that the particular materials referred to in this article, and similar records now rather inaccessible and in danger of destruction, might properly be entrusted to this society for permanent preservation.

As early as 1845 a prominent member of the pioneer Norwegian settlement at Muskego, Wisconsin, proposed that a Norwegian newspaper should be established in the community. Two years later *Nordlyset* (The Northern Light) began to be issued. Accounts of this publication, which served as the Norwegian organ of the Free Soil party, describing its nature and political influence, may be found elsewhere.[5] Here attention is merely directed to the existence of a partial file of *Nordlyset* in the library of Luther Theological Seminary, in St. Anthony Park, St. Paul, Minnesota. An examination of this file, which is bound in a volume together with some other newspapers that will be mentioned below, shows that *Nordlyset* made its first appearance on July 29, 1847. The last number to be issued was dated May 18, 1850. There were at least 103 regular issues of the newspaper, in addition to a few extra numbers. The first editor, James D. Reymert,[6] dropped out at the

[4] A brief argument for this plan, prepared by the writer, appears under the title "The Historical Records of the Scandinavians in America," in MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, 2:413–418.

[5] See Hansen, in *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914*, 10–12. The newspaper was first printed in Even Heg's log cabin, later in James D. Reymert's house, and finally at Racine, Wisconsin.

[6] For information concerning Reymert see Barton, in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1916, p. 194. To the account there given might be added the interesting fact that Reymert was identified with the early American press of northern Wisconsin. For two months in 1857 he edited the *North Star* (Hudson, Wisconsin), and in December, 1860, together with Junius A. Bartlett, he founded the *St. Croixian*, later known as the *Polk County Press*. Ada T. Griswold, *Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 339, 411 (Madison, 1911).

end of the year 1848, and *Nordlyset* then appeared under the management of Heg and Company. The press was sold late in the fall of 1849 and was moved from Muskego to Racine, Wisconsin. The last ten issues appeared there, edited by Knud Langeland.[7] These ten issues appeared between March 9 and May 18, 1850. For a period of over three months in the winter of 1849-50 publication was suspended. The file of *Nordlyset* in the possession of Luther Theological Seminary is by no means complete. It comprises twenty-six regular and two extra numbers of volume one, and forty-one regular numbers of volume two.[8] These sixty-nine issues of the first Norwegian newspaper published in America are extremely valuable as an historical source. *Nordlyset* is the rarest of all the early Norwegian-American newspapers. So far as the writer's knowledge goes, the file at St. Anthony Park is unique.

[7] Langeland played a very prominent part in the development of the Norwegian-American press, becoming eventually the editor of the powerful *Skandinaven* of Chicago. He published in 1889, at Chicago, his book *Nordmaendene i Amerika; nogle optegnelser om de norskes udvandring til Amerika.*

[8] Of volume 1, twenty-eight numbers are present and twenty-five missing. A fragment of number 1 (July 29, 1847), a badly damaged copy of number 14 (November 4), and a fragment of number 17 (November 26) are not in the book referred to, but are kept in envelopes. Bound in the book are: a perfect copy of number 1; number 20 (January 6, 1848); numbers 23–37 (January 27–May 4) with the exception of numbers 26, 30, 31, 34, and 35; numbers 38–40 (May 11–25) each incomplete; numbers 41–44 (June 1–22); extra number (July 20); number 45 (July 27); numbers 48–51 (August 17–September 7); extra number (September 14). Of volume 2, forty-one numbers are present and eleven missing. Those included in the file are: numbers 3, 4 (October 19, 26, 1848); number 5 (November 2) incomplete; numbers 6–11 (November 9–December 14); numbers 14–20 (January 4–February 15, 1849); numbers 22–25 (March 8–March 29); numbers 26, 28 (April 12, 26); numbers 29, 30 (May 10, 17); numbers 32, 33 (June 7, 28); number 34 (July 19); number 35 (August 2); numbers 36–38 (October 4, 11, 25); number 39 (November 8); numbers 42–47 (March 9–April 13, 1850); numbers 50–52 (May 4–18). The State Historical Society of Wisconsin possesses one number only of *Nordlyset,* and this happens to be an issue not included in the above collection—that for September 9, 1847, number 6 of volume 1.

The same volume that contains the issues of *Nordlyset* brings to light the fact, hitherto unknown, that Langeland's *Democraten,* begun at Racine, June 8, 1850, was not the second Norwegian newspaper to be published in America. It was in fact the third. A newspaper called *Democraten,* published and edited by James D. Reymert, and put out at Norway, Racine County, Wisconsin, was being issued in the spring of 1848, more than two years before Langeland's *Democraten* began to appear. Reymert's paper of this name, Democratic in politics, was offered to subscribers for three months at twenty-five cents. Only one number is included in the collection at Luther Theological Seminary, the issue of April 27, 1848.

Bound with the newspapers in the volume referred to is an extremely interesting little pamphlet written by an anonymous member of the Free Soil party in Illinois. Its title, in translation, is *Slavery Causes Hard Times.* The four pages of the pamphlet are packed with statistics and arguments showing the economic fallacies involved in the slavery system and the menace of that system to free labor; the date of issuance is 1848.[9]

Democraten (The Democrat),[10] established by Langeland at Racine in June, 1850, did not disappear after six months, as some writers have asserted. The volume at Luther Theological Seminary includes forty-eight numbers of this newspaper. The dates of the first and last issues are June 8, 1850, and October 29, 1851. At least fifty numbers of volume 1 were put out, and all but five of the numbers of that volume are preserved at St. Anthony Park. The first forty-seven numbers were published at Racine, Wisconsin, the last issue to appear there being volume 1, number 47, May 3, 1851.

9 The Norwegian title is *Slaveriet foraarsager haarde tider.* It is signed: "En sandheds forkynder." Its origin is indicated in the following words: "Forfattet af et medlem af Friheds partiet i Illinois; trykt og uddeelt paa bekostning af flere Norske."

10 Note the spelling *Democraten.* The letter *c,* not *k,* is used.

Number 48 is dated June 18, 1851, Janesville, Wisconsin. The volume at Luther Theological Seminary contains six of the numbers issued at Janesville, three of these representing volume 2 of the paper. The writer knows of no other file of *Democraten* in existence.[11]

Democraten supported the political principles of the Democratic party, and carried on a spirited controversy with a rival called *De Norskes Ven* (Thé Friend of the Norwegians), which began to appear under the editorship of Ole Torgersen at Madison, Wisconsin, in the summer of 1850. *De Norskes Ven* supported the Whig party; it was short-lived and seems to have exerted very little influence upon the political views of the Norwegian-Americans. The Whig party held few attractions for the foreign element in the Northwest. The Norwegians were strongly attracted by the name and traditions of the Democratic party, but were deeply anti-slavery in their views, as is illustrated by the support given to the Free Soil party and later to the Republican party. Two numbers of *De Norskes Ven* are preserved in the volume at Luther Theological Seminary, and these two, numbers 22 and 24, for January 14 and 28, 1851, complete the volume.[12]

Many rare files of old newspapers, often obtainable nowhere else, may be found in the vaults of present-day newspaper offices. Most newspapers have preserved files of their own issues. Often a newspaper of the present represents mergers or coalitions of several rival papers, and, where such a process

[11] A complete list of the numbers of *Democraten* in the file referred to follows. Volume 1: numbers 1–21 (June 8–October 26, 1850) with the exception of numbers 15 and 20; number 22 (November 3); numbers 23–39 (November 9–December 21) with the exception of number 26; numbers 30–47 (January 4–May 3, 1851) with the exception of numbers 33 and 38; numbers 48–50 (June 18, 25, July 17) each badly torn. Volume 2: number 1 (August 4, 1851) torn and incomplete; extra number (September 18) incomplete; extra number (October 29).

[12] A brief account of *De Norskes Ven* is given by Hansen, in *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914*, 13.

has taken place, frequently files of the merged paper are transferred. Some newspaper editors are glad to allow their files to be used by historical students, though very few students appear to recognize the possibilities of such depositories. Often these files are not readily accessible, however, and perhaps more often they are ill cared for, with the result that the newspapers become torn or otherwise damaged, if not destroyed. The *Minneapolis Tidende,* the leading Norwegian daily in the Northwest, possesses partial files of three of the important ante bellum Norwegian-American newspapers: *Den Norske Amerikaner, Nordstjernen,* and *Emigranten.* All three of these papers are ancestors of the present *Minneapolis Tidende.* On the whole these files are more valuable historically than those at Luther Theological Seminary, and, like the latter, they are, so far as is known, unique. Through the courtesy of Mr. Carl Hansen, one of the editors of the *Tidende,* the writer was permitted to examine and make lists of the materials kept in the *Tidende* vaults. The results of this examination are here presented, together with brief data concerning the three newspapers under discussion.[13]

Den Norske Amerikaner: Et Blad for Folket (The Norwegian-American: A Newspaper for the People) was established at Madison, Wisconsin, about the month of January, 1855, by Elias Stangeland. It appeared weekly, and was issued up to May 27, 1857. The editorial management was soon taken over by Charles M. Reese, a former editor of *Emigranten,* and on April 18, 1857, the name was modified to *Den Norske Amerikaner: Et National Demokratisk Blad* (A National Democratic Newspaper) and the Scandinavian Democratic Press Association assumed financial responsibility for

[13] For a general account of the part played by *Den Norske Amerikaner, Nordstjernen,* and *Emigranten* in the history of the Norwegian-American press, see Hansen, in *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914,* 17–40. In preparing his article Mr. Hansen made use of the files kept by the *Tidende.* See also Barton, in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings,* 1916, pp. 200–208.

the undertaking.[14] The newspaper was belligerently Democratic in policy. Persistent attacks were made on *Emigranten* in its editorial columns, for *Emigranten,* though Democratic in name, supported the new Republican party and stood firmly on a radical antislavery—not merely anti-extension—basis. *Den Norske Amerikaner* bitterly charged that the Know-Nothing element had gained the upper hand in the Wisconsin Republican organization and that Norwegian-Americans should therefore shun that party. *Emigranten* was attacked, furthermore, on the ground that it was virtually a church organ, and also because it had given publicity to an immigration scandal in which Stangeland was involved. The *Minneapolis Tidende* possesses an incomplete file of the two volumes of *Den Norske Amerikaner.* A few years ago, unfortunately, a member of the *Tidende* staff, in search for material of historical interest, went through volume 1 armed with a pair of scissors and clipped out such items, articles, or pages as seemed of value to him. These clippings are presumely now preserved, in scattered form, in the editorial "morgue"—but they can never be assembled again, and the damage to the volume is irreparable. Number 42 of volume 1 is the first whole number in the file, and from that point on the issues have almost but not quite escaped the merciless shears. A merely casual examination suffices to show that *Den Norske Amerikaner* contains a wealth of unused material on the political, social, and economic situation in the Northwest in the decade of 1850-60—especially with reference to the Scandinavian element.[15]

[14] Hansen, in *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914,* 23–26.

[15] A list of the numbers of *Den Norske Amerikaner* in possession of the *Minneapolis Tidende* follows. Every issue up to number 42 has been mutilated; in some cases the numbers, and in others the dates, cannot be ascertained. Volume 1: issue dating before January 26, 1855; issue of January 26, 1855; number 6 (February 2); issue of March 2; numbers 12–14 (March 21–April 4); numbers 15–18; numbers 19, 20 (May 19, 26); numbers 21, 22; number 23 (July 7); numbers 24, 25; number 26 (July

Nordstjernen: Et National Demokratisk Blad (The North Star: A National Democratic Newspaper) edited by Charles M. Reese, and supported by the Scandinavian Democratic Press Association, succeeded *Den Norske Amerikaner.* Its first issue appeared at Madison, Wisconsin, June 10, 1857. Its avowed policy was to "tear the mask from Black Republicanism." It continued the attacks of *Den Norske Amerikaner* upon *Emigranten,* which now boldly proclaimed as its motto: "No Slavery for Black or White." *Nordstjernen* supported the Fugitive Slave Law and criticized severely the hostile attitude of *Emigranten* toward the enforcement of that act. So warm did the controversy become that in the fall of 1857 an effort was made to arrange a public debate between the two editors. *Nordstjernen* gained little support from the Norwegian element in its political stand, however, and after a half year it began to appear irregularly. Hans Borchenius became its editor after about a year, and the paper continued to be issued, at irregular intervals, according to Hansen, until 1860, when it was bought by the editor of *Emigranten* and united with the latter publication.[16] The truth is that *Nordstjernen* was advocating a cause that could not win the sympathy of the Norwegian element in Wisconsin. The Norwegians were rapidly joining the Republican ranks and could not be induced to give their support in the late fifties to any political movement that did not take a firm antislavery stand.[17]

28); issues from July 28 to November 17, represented by ten pages of advertisements; numbers 36–38; numbers 42–52 (January 5–March 15, 1856) with the exception of numbers 44, 46, and 51. Volume 2: number 1; (March 29, 1856) mutilated; numbers 2–19 (April 5–August 2) with the exception of number 9; numbers 21–35 (September 20–December 27) with the exception of numbers 22 and 33; numbers 36–39 (January 3–24, 1857); numbers 40, 41 (February 7, 21); number 43 (March 7); numbers 46–48 (April 4, 18, 25); number 49 (May 2); numbers 50–52 (May 13–27).

16 Hansen, in *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914,* 28.

17 The *Minneapolis Tidende* possesses the following numbers of *Nordstjernen.* Volume 1: numbers 1–18 (June 10–October 7, 1857) with the

The most important of all the early Norwegian newspapers in the United States was *Emigranten* (The Emigrant). This is true not merely because it outlived its rivals—it was, in fact, issued regularly from 1852 to 1868—but also because, as a Republican organ, it reflected accurately the views of the great majority of the Norwegians in the Northwest. It was, moreover, very ably edited, and its news policy was comprehensive. It may rightly be regarded as a newspaper for the Scandinavian element in the entire Northwest. *Emigranten* was founded in January, 1852, by the Scandinavian Printing Association, an organization composed mainly of Norwegian Lutheran clergymen in Wisconsin who desired a political organ in addition to the church publication which they had established in March, 1851.[18] The first editor was the Reverend Claus L. Clausen, one of the leading pioneer preachers in the West.[19] The paper appeared weekly and was first published near Inmansville, Rock County, Wisconsin. It was announced that the general policy of the paper would be democratic, but this did not mean that it would necessarily support the Democratic party. Rather it would assume an independent attitude and would support good men irrespective of party affiliation. In general, however, the paper did support the Democratic party from 1852 to 1854. Clausen withdrew on August 27, 1852, and was succeeded by Charles M. Reese, who held the position until 1854. He was followed by Knud J. Fleischer,

exception of numbers 8, 11, and 16; numbers 19–21 (October 11, 21, 28); number 22 (December 19); numbers 23, 24 (January 16, 27, 1858); number 25 (February 13); number 26 (March 20); extra number (May 27). In the issue of February 13, 1858, the editor comes out for Douglas for president in 1860.

18 This church paper was called *Maanedstidende for den norsk-evangelisk lutherske kirke i Amerika.* Edited by the Reverend Claus L. Clausen and the Reverend Hans A. Stub, it appeared monthly at Inmansville, Rock County, Wisconsin.

19 See Svein Strand, "Pastor C. L. Clausen," in *Symra,* 9:204–223 (1913).

who edited the paper from 1854 to 1857. Though *Emigranten* exhibited a temporary leaning toward the decadent Whig party in 1854,[20] it soon became definitely Republican in its views. It was removed to Madison, Wisconsin, in the spring of 1857, and C. Fr. Solberg became its editor.[21] He edited the paper from 1857 to 1868, with some temporary absences, as for example when he went to the South with the Fifteenth Wisconsin Infantry as a war correspondent. In 1860 Solberg consolidated *Nordstjernen* with *Emigranten.* In 1868 *Emigranten,* in turn, was consolidated with *Faedrelandet* and was moved to La Crosse, Wisconsin, the name of the new paper being *Faedrelandet og Emigranten.* This latter paper was eventually consolidated with the *Minneapolis Tidende*—now a very powerful daily and weekly with a large circulation.

The religious, political, social, and economic tendencies of the Norwegians—and, in fact, of the Scandinavians generally—in the decade preceding the Civil War, and the nature of the Scandinavian attitude toward and participation in the Civil War, are faithfully reflected in the columns of *Emigranten* during these periods. *Emigranten* is a source of first importance not only for the light it throws upon the history of the Scandinavians in the United States but also for its materials on Wisconsin political and economic development, the progress of the Northwest, and many other factors entering into the history of the United States from 1852 to 1868. It is not within the scope of this article to present a detailed account of this newspaper, its policies, and its influence.[22] Attention is here called to the existence of files of *Emigranten,* now kept in Minneapolis, covering eight years of its existence. Files for these years are not accessible elsewhere. They are therefore perhaps almost as unique and valuable as would be an elabo-

20 Barton, in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings,* 1916, p. 201.

21 Hansen, in *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914,* 28.

22 Such an account by Hansen may be found in *Norsk-Amerikanernes Festskrift 1914,* 15–40.

rate manuscript diary covering the same period and viewing the important (and unimportant) questions of the day from the standpoint of a foreign-born citizen living in a western state.

The files of *Emigranten* in the possession of the *Minneapolis Tidende* do not, unfortunately, include any of the first five volumes published at Inmansville during the years 1852-57. But they do include issues covering the period from June 3, 1857, to December 25, 1865, with the exception of one number in June, 1858, all the numbers of the year 1861, and thirteen numbers of the volume for 1863.[23] The years 1857 and 1859 are represented by two complete volumes each. For 1862 there are three complete volumes; and for 1864 and 1865, six. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin owns one volume of *Emigranten* (volume 10), and this volume—for 1860—is not included in the *Tidende* collection. All in all we can now locate files of *Emigranten* from 1857 through 1865 with the exception of only fourteen issues.

Though the chief value of the newspapers discussed in this paper is in connection with the history of the Scandinavian and particularly the Norwegian element in our population, yet the student familiar with the Scandinavian languages would find, upon examining sources of this kind, much material upon other phases of American history. That historical documents of this kind may eventually be centralized at the Minnesota

[23] The *Tidende* possesses two files of volume 6, numbers 1–30 (June 3–December 23, 1857) published at Madison; one file of volume 7, numbers 1–52 (January 6–December 27, 1858) except number 23, June 9; two files of volume 8, numbers 1–52 (January 7–December 26, 1859); one file of volume 9, numbers 1–52 (January 2–December 24, 1860); three files practically complete of volume 11, numbers 1–52 (January 6–December 29, 1862); one incomplete file of volume 12, numbers 14–52 (April 6–December 28, 1863)—the first thirteen numbers were originally included in the volume but were later torn out, with the exception of a fragment of the issue of March 23; six files of volume 13, numbers 1–52 (January 4–December 26, 1864); and six files of volume 14, numbers 1–52 (January 2–December 25, 1865).

Historical Society building, thus augmenting the Scandinavian collection already deposited in that place, is earnestly to be hoped by students interested in the problem of the population elements in the history of the Northwest.[24]

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24 Since the foregoing article was written, the publishers of the *Minneapolis Tidende,* the T. Guldbrandsen Publishing Company, have presented to the Minnesota Historical Society volumes of *Emigranten* covering the years 1857 (June–December), 1859, 1862, 1864, and 1865.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

In connection with the stated meeting of the executive council on October 11, an open session was held in the auditorium, at which papers were read on "The Early Norwegian Press in America," by Theodore C. Blegen, assistant professor of history in Hamline University, and on "Charlie Reynolds and the Custer Campaign," by Olin D. Wheeler, of the society's council.

An illustrated lecture on "The Past and Present of South Africa," by Mr. C. Graham Botha, chief archivist for the Union of South Africa, was given under the auspices of the society in its auditorium on the evening of July 21. The lecture was open to the public, and, in spite of very short notice, the room was filled to overflowing by an appreciative audience. The museum was open for an hour before the lecture and several hundred people took advantage of the opportunity to see the exhibits. Mr. Botha had been sent by his government on an extended tour of the United States, Canada, and the principal European countries to study methods of organizing and administering archives. It would appear that considerably more attention is given to archives in South Africa than in the United States, where the importance of making any special provision for the care of public records has not yet, as a rule, been recognized.

Nine new members, all active, were enrolled during July, August, and September: Louis J. Ahlstrom, Theodore W. Anderson, Mrs. Willoughby M. Babcock, Gertrude A. Jacobsen, Anna M. Ostgaard, Rudolph J. Schultz, and Carl E. Van Cleve of Minneapolis; Julius A. Schmahl of St. Paul; and Augustus H. Shearer of Buffalo, New York. Two former members were reinstated during the quarter. The society lost by death during the same period two active members, David C. Shepard of St. Paul, August 7, and Frank G. O'Brien of Minneapolis, August 16.

The position of head cataloguer on the society's staff, which had been vacant since May, was finally filled by the appointment

of Miss Wilhelmina E. Carothers, formerly head cataloguer of the Library Association of Portland, Oregon, who took up the work on September 1. Miss Mary B. Kimball resigned her position as accessions assistant, to take effect July 31, and was succeeded by Miss Carolyn A. Johnson of St. Paul. Miss Kimball has taken the position of librarian of the public schools of South St. Paul.

Among investigators from outside the state who made extensive use of the society's collections during the summer was Mr. Hermann Hagedorn, author of a *Boy's Life of Theodore Roosevelt,* and secretary of the Roosevelt Memorial Association. Mr. Hagedorn was searching for material for a book on Colonel Roosevelt's career as a ranchman in Dakota and reported that he "was able to secure some very valuable data" on the subject in the society's library. Members and friends of the society will be interested in the following extracts from a letter received from Mr. Hagedorn.

"You have an extraordinarily fine plant, and if you are able to secure the necessary financial assistance, which legislatures in other states have unfortunately occasionally been too short-sighted to give until it was too late, you should be able to do work of such immense value that it cannot be computed in terms of dollars and cents. We Americans are so young as a nation that we have barely come to recognize that we have a past whose records are scant and whose great landmarks have in part already been overwhelmed by the swift waters of time. The story of the exploration and settlement of the Northwest is one of the most romantic stories in history. It has never yet been half told. There is no historian and no novelist among us to-day great enough perhaps to tell it. But some day in the course of this century or the next that historian or that novelist will arise and delve avidly among your treasures for those details of speech and dress and custom that seem so unimportant, yet, in the hands of a man of imagination and purpose, serve to give the glow of life to the picture he is painting. It is the part of organizations like the Minnesota Historical Society to see that the great historian when he comes will not search for his essential facts in vain.

"I have been stirred in traveling through the Northwest to see the wealth of valuable historical material on all sides merely waiting to be gathered from the lips of men and women still surviving from the pioneer days; and yet saddened at the same time to think how much of the gorgeous, irrecoverable stuff was going to waste, slipping every week, every month, every year into oblivion as this man here and that woman there sinks into that silence from which no voice is raised to tell of golden deeds. Is there no way for you to send out harvesters of reminiscences?"

The resources of the society's library were also drawn upon quite extensively by Dr. William O. Scroggs of the editorial staff of the *New York Evening Post* in connection with a study of the Nonpartisan League. The results of this study were set forth in a series of articles in the *Post.*

Favorable reviews of volume 17 of the society's *Collections*—Dr. Upham's *Minnesota Geographic Names*—have been noted in the following magazines and papers: the *Minneapolis Journal,* June 4; the *Minneapolis Sontag Tidende,* July 4; the *Minneapolis Tribune,* June 6; the *Nonpartisan Leader,* July 5; the *St. Paul Daily News,* August 8; the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for July; and the *Western Magazine* for September. It is also noted briefly in the *Nation* for August 7. From it is derived most of the historical information in a guide to the Jefferson Highway in Minnesota recently published in pamphlet form by the Ten Thousand Lakes of Minnesota Association.

Accessions

A notable addition to the collections of state archives in the custody of the society was received in August from the office of the secretary of state. All the legislative bills and the original journals of the legislature from 1849 to 1880, together with a number of miscellaneous papers of the same period, were transferred to the Historical Building. These important state documents, which had been stored in sub-basement vaults of the Capitol, are now accessible to students of history and others who may be interested in consulting them. Among the miscellaneous papers, which had been reposing for years in an old gunny sack,

were found the original certified returns of the first census of the Territory of Minnesota, taken in 1849. Despite this summary treatment the papers were in good condition, save for innumerable wrinkles, and they have served to correct a number of errors in the census as printed in the appendix to the *Council Journal* of 1849.

A voluminous addition to the archives of the surveyors-general of logs, comprising the records of the fifth district, of which the office was located at Duluth, was also received during the summer. (See *ante,* p. 142). They consist almost entirely of tally books kept by the scalers, though there are a few log ledgers and journals, a short file of books of liens, and other record books. The period covered is approximately the thirty years from 1883 to 1913. The practical importance of the preservation of such apparently obsolete records as these was well illustrated recently when two attorneys representing opposing sides in a lawsuit involving thousands of dollars, together with a court reporter, spent three days in the basement of the unfinished stack room of the Historical Building gathering evidence from the archives of the surveyors-general of logs for the second district. This material had been stored here because of lack of room for it in the finished parts of the building.

The papers of the Reverend Moses N. Adams, missionary, pastor, Indian agent, army chaplain, and missionary again, have been presented by his son-in-law, Mr. Newton R. Frost, of St. Paul. Adams came to Minnesota in 1848 to serve as a member of the Dakota Mission at Lac qui Parle. Later he was appointed state agent of the American Bible Society and traveled constantly through wild and unopened country under all sorts of conditions and in all seasons of the year. During the eight years of President Grant's administration, he served as agent to the Sisseton Sioux in South Dakota, after which he was commissioned as an army chaplain and was stationed at various western posts. Upon reaching the age of retirement, he returned to the missionary field and was made superintendent of the Good Will Mission at the Sisseton Agency. In 1892 he resigned because of failing health and removed to St. Paul, where he completed his

cycle of three score years and ten in 1902. Most of the papers relate to the Indian agency; and the records of reports, returns of supplies, contracts, bonds, and vouchers seem to be very complete. Especially interesting are several rolls of minutes of councils held with the Indians at various times. A noteworthy item which illustrates the labors of the early missionaries is a manuscript copy of the Dakota Lexicon.

A large and very valuable collection of the papers of the late Captain Henry A. Castle have been presented by his daughters, the Misses Helen and Mary Castle of St. Paul. Captain Castle served with Illinois regiments in the Civil War. He came to Minnesota in 1866, was a member of the state legislature in 1873, adjutant general in 1875–76, editor of the *St. Paul Dispatch* from 1876 to 1885, state oil inspector from 1883 to 1886, postmaster of St. Paul from 1892 to 1896, and auditor of the United States post-office department from 1897 to 1903. He was also the author of two historical works, *Minnesota, Its Story and Biography* and a *History of St. Paul and Vicinity*. The papers are voluminous and varied, consisting of some fifty letter files of correspondence, ten letter-press books, about thirty scrapbooks, and a large collection of newspaper clippings on various subjects, principally, however, relating to post-office matters. There is also a group of letters written by Captain Castle's son, Colonel Charles W. Castle of Leavenworth, Kansas, while a cadet at West Point and while serving in the Philippine Islands during the Spanish-American War. In addition to the manuscript material, several files of early Minnesota newspapers and a collection of 111 books and 652 pamphlets, including a number of rare railroad and Minnesota items, were received from the same source.

Another large contribution to the society's collections has been received from the family of the late General William G. Le Duc of Hastings. Among the manuscript papers of the general included in the collection are a considerable group on agricultural subjects, accumulated while he held the office of United States commissioner of agriculture; a volume of quartermaster's circulars and general orders, dating from 1861 to 1863; a record

book of the Hastings, Minnesota, and Red River Railroad Company, 1862–66; and account books of his stationery store in St. Paul, 1852, of the Hastings Ferry Company, 1856–57, of the Vermillion Mills at Hastings, 1855–60, and of a general store in Hastings, 1863. The printed material, consisting of about two thousand books and pamphlets and long runs of many important periodicals covering half a century, will be very valuable in filling in gaps in the society's library. The museum is enriched by the deposit of numerous additional objects. Old Staffordshire china, Bohemian and cut glass wine sets, and fine dresses, silk shawls, and lace mantillas help to reproduce the social life of the past; a flail, a cradle for cutting grain, a corn-planter, and other implements illustrate pioneer agricultural operations; and a "Betty" lamp, a candle lantern, a bootjack, a dinner horn, a copper teakettle, iron cooking pots, a child's cradle, and, last but not least, a "little brown jug" recall the conditions of domestic life in pioneer days.

A little worn leather notebook containing daily entries made by Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer's favorite scout, Charles Reynolds, during Custer's last campaign, has been presented recently by Mr. Olin D. Wheeler. The little book was given to Mr. Wheeler some twenty years ago by the custodian of old Fort Abraham Lincoln, Walter C. Gooding, who some twenty years earlier—on May 14, 1876, to be exact—had given it to Reynolds as the Yellowstone expedition was preparing to leave that post, with the request that "he make a few notes in the book, of the sights and scenes he saw." This Reynolds did faithfully from May 17, the day the troops left the fort, until June 22, when they struck the trail of the Indians they were pursuing. At this point his entries end, probably because the heavy marches of the next two days and the excitement due to the proximity of the Indians left no time or inclination for writing. Reynolds was killed on the twenty-fifth, but the journal of the return expedition was taken up July 1 by Sergeant Alexander Brown, who recorded the daily movements of the troops until September 10, when they arrived at Wolf Point on the Missouri River, whence they were ordered to return to Fort Abraham Lincoln. A written statement containing additional information on this expedition,

given by word of mouth by Francis Kennedy of St. Paul, a participant, to Mr. Wheeler about 1900, has been presented with the journal.

Incidents and events in the history of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War are vividly recalled by the diaries and papers of Samuel Bloomer, which have recently been presented to the society by his widow. Mr. Bloomer, who was a Stillwater boy, enlisted in Company B of the First Minnesota, April 29, 1861, was wounded in the battles of Bull Run and Antietam, and was discharged December 6, 1862. From 1863 to 1865 he was a member of the invalid corps, stationed at Evansville, Indiana, and other places, and had charge of quartermaster's stores. His diaries follow the history of the First Minnesota from May, 1861, until September, 1862, and a series of letters from his cousin, Adam Marty, of the same company, continue the narrative of events concerning that regiment to March, 1864. Of special value is a roll of the members of the company, dated June, 1861, and corrected to March, 1863. A number of letters from relatives and friends in Stillwater and Fort Snelling chronicle events at home and at the fort during the war. Noteworthy among these are several referring to the Sioux Massacre of 1862, one describing methods of punishing soldiers at Fort Snelling, and another decrying the high wages and soaring prices of the winter of 1864. A collection of quartermaster's returns and other reports illustrate the work done by Lieutenant Bloomer with the invalid corps.

Some papers of Jerome Big Eagle, a chief of the Mdewakanton Sioux, have been presented by his nephew through the courtesy of Judge Charles F. Hall of Granite Falls. Jerome Big Eagle or Wamditanka (Great War Eagle), who died at Granite Falls, January 5, 1916, was a son of Chief Gray Iron and a grandson of Chief Black Dog. He was born in 1827 near Mendota and upon the death of his father became chief of the band. He visited Washington in 1858 and signed the treaty negotiated with the Sioux on that occasion. He was involved in the Sioux Outbreak of 1862 but claimed to have taken no part in the massacre. Nevertheless, he was confined in prison at

Davenport, Iowa, until 1864. Among the papers is a statement given by Major Lawrence Taliaferro to "Wah ma de tunk ah Chief of the River St Peters" (Black Dog) on June 24, 1833, just as he and his band were starting for a hunt on the Des Moines River. The statement bears testimony to the peaceful intent of these Indians and their determination no longer to fight with the Sauk and Foxes. Several of the other papers are statements of a similar nature issued to "Mah zah hoh tah" (Gray Iron) by Major Taliaferro and Henry H. Sibley. A souvenir of the Washington visit is a recommendation of conduct and character given to "Wamindeetonkee" (Jerome Big Eagle) by Charles E. Mix, commissioner of Indian affairs. The papers all bear testimony to the good character and high standing which Jerome Big Eagle and his ancestors maintained with the United States officials and other men of prominence.

To Mr. Orrin F. Smith of Winona the society is indebted for copies of extracts from the "Notes of an Old Settler" by Elder Ely, which were published in the *Winona Daily Republican* for 1867. Elder Ely was one of the early settlers of Winona and served as the first postmaster of that city, when the post office was nothing but the elder's hat, from which he distributed the mail. Mr. Smith has also presented a letter of Henry H. Sibley, delegate to Congress, regarding the appointemnt of Abner S. Goddard as postmaster of the Winona office in 1852.

A letter written by Silas Doud at Red Wing in October, 1857, which recounts the financial difficulties of the late territorial days, when money could be loaned at four or five per cent per month, but with doubtful security, has been presented by Mr. Charles C. Thach, Jr., of Baltimore, through the courtesy of Professor William Anderson of the University of Minnesota.

The future student of the labor situation of the present day will be much interested in the copies of a report and other papers concerning the labor disturbances in northern Minnesota in December, 1919, recently presented by the author of the report, Mr. Hiram D. Frankel of St. Paul. Mr. Frankel accompanied the Minnesota National Guard to International Falls on

December 12, as General Rhinow's adjutant; hence his report is written from first-hand knowledge of the events.

Mr. Arthur Graves Douglass of Minneapolis has presented a manuscript genealogy of the Arthur and Graves families and the commission of his father, Ebenezer Douglass, as Indian agent. The commission bears the signature of President Grant.

A carbon copy of a thesis on "The Development of Flour Milling in Minneapolis," by Charles B. Kuhlmann, the original of which was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of master of arts at the University of Minnesota in June, 1920, has been presented by the author. It consists of 258 typewritten pages with a number of maps and charts. In the preparation of this work Mr. Kuhlman made extensive use of the Hale Papers—correspondence of Major William D. Hale—in the manuscript collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The Honorable Asher Howard of Minneapolis has presented to the society a collection of original letters, photographic reproductions of letters, newspapers, magazines, books, and pamphlets which formed the basis of a recent campaign publication relating to the Nonpartisan League. In accord with its policy of accumulating all available material on all sides of current issues, for the use of the impartial historian of the future, the society has accepted this addition to its already extensive collection of material relating to the league.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Samuel T. Painter of St. Paul, the society has recently received three very interesting scrapbooks on river transportation, compiled by his brother, the late Frank M. Painter, who was a steamboat clerk on the Mississippi and Red Rivers from 1870 to 1876. The books are made up largely of newspaper clippings of the articles by George B. Merrick published in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa; but they contain also a series of sketches contributed by Mr. Painter himself to the Sunday *Courier News* of Fargo, North Dakota, and miscellaneous clippings relating events of the early steamboat days. A few pictures of old-time steamboats,

hotels, and bridges along the rivers have been included, as well as a number of steamboat and railroad tickets, checks, passes, and bills of lading.

A typewritten copy of the program for the Fort Snelling centennial celebration (see *post,* p. 534) has been received from Mr. George H. Hazzard; and the following manuscripts of addresses delivered at the gatherings have been presented by the authors: "Colonel Leavenworth and His Command," by Lucy Leavenworth Wilder Morris; "Reminiscences," by Levi Longfellow; "Time and Change," by Frank Eddy; and "Harriet E. Bishop, Founder of Baptist Work in Minnesota," by Mary E. Randall.

Mrs. Andrew R. McGill of St. Paul has presented a large collection of books, pamphlets, and magazine files, together with some valuable manuscript material and museum objects. The manuscripts consist of papers and records accumulated by her husband, the late Governor McGill, from 1874 to 1886 and relate largely to his work as state insurance commissioner during those years. The museum material includes the full-dress uniform worn by Mrs. McGill's son, Captain Charles H. McGill, in the Minnesota National Guard about the time of the Spanish-American War—a valuable addition to the society's collection of American military uniforms.

A file of the *Minneapolis Times* for the years from 1892 to 1904, consisting of 110 bound volumes, has been presented by the publishers of the *Minneapolis Tribune.* The file is duplicated in the society's collection, but it can be exchanged advantageously with some other library.

A Sioux war club and a beaded buckskin gun case are gifts of Dr. James C. Ferguson of St. Paul, who has presented many other Indian specimens to the museum during the past year.

Two guns which saw service in the defence of New Ulm during the Sioux Outbreak have been received through the courtesy of Mr. Arthur T. Adams of Minneapolis. One of them, presented by Mr. Julius Krause of New Ulm, was used by Captain Louis Buggaert in the battle; the other, a gift of Mr. William

Skinner of New Ulm, is a heavy gun of a special make designed for buffalo hunting and has two barrels, of which one is rifled and the other, of somewhat larger caliber, has a smooth bore.

From Mr. Max Diestel of Le Sueur the society has received a heavy breech-loading Sharp's carbine of the model of 1848, a gun wrench of the type issued to soldiers in the Civil War, an interesting old pepperbox pistol of heavy caliber, a brass flatiron bearing the date 1846 and arranged to contain hot coals, two heavy ax heads of unusual form, and several other interesting specimens for the museum.

Mr. Frederick R. Volk of Eagle Lake has presented a heavy stone ax and several arrowheads which were found on his farm near Lake Washington in Blue Earth County.

Mrs. James J. Hill has presented a number of Confederate notes and bonds of various issues, some of which had been presented to Mr. Hill by Henry M. Rice. These are interesting additions to the society's numismatic collection.

A unique addition to the World War collection of the museum is a large Red Cross quilt, the work of Mrs. Mary Parker, which contains the names and service stars of the men from the Frazee district who served in the war. The quilt was presented to the society by Mrs. Samuel S. Jones in the name of the Frazee chapter of the Red Cross.

Mr. Alonzo F. Carlyle of St. Paul, who brought back many World War relics and placed some of them in the care of the society, has recently deposited an elaborately camouflaged American steel helmet. It is interesting to compare the protective coloring used on this specimen with that painted on a captured German steel helmet in the museum.

A large oil portrait of General James H. Baker, painted by Theodore Kaufmann in 1875, is the gift of Mrs. Baker of Mankato. General Baker was for many years a member of the council of the society and was the author of the *Lives of the Governors,* published in 1908 as volume 13 of the society's *Collections.*

From Mr. Andrew A. Veblen, formerly of Minneapolis but now living in California, the society has received an interesting wooden drinking bowl, bearing the date 1839, which came from West Slidre Parish, Valdres, Norway.

To Judge and Mrs. John W. Willis of St. Paul, the society is indebted for a beautiful old punch bowl of Meissen ware, which was made in the royal potteries of Dresden, Saxony, over two hundred years ago. A number of other interesting specimens for the museum have been received from them, including a handsome pair of brass-mounted percussion cap duelling pistols presented in the name of Mr. Francis Fitzgerald.

Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul has presented a sketch of the Sibley House at Mendota, painted by Mrs. John M. Armstrong, interesting old photographs of Hole-in-the-Day and Little Crow, and several other articles of value for the museum collections.

Mr. and Mrs. Edwin P. Capen of Minneapolis have presented to the museum a small but finely decorated Mexican water jug and several other pieces of pottery.

NEWS AND COMMENT

A paper entitled "The Significance for Canadian History of the Work of the Board of Historical Publications," by Adam Shortt, in the 1919 volume of the *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada (section 2) contains an unusually cogent exposition of the value of history as a basis for understanding the present and planning for the future. Since it is desirable "that there may be as little dispute as possible as to what it is that history teaches," it is necessary, the author contends, "not only to set forth a conscientious view of historical facts, but, as far as possible, the actual documents, or at least the most important of them, arranged in such a manner that they may be the most readily accessible, not only at large, but in their natural historical relations with each other, in point of time, place, and similar interests." The plans of the board for meeting this need, so far as Canada is concerned, are described, and an outline is presented of its proposed documentary publications.

The Historical Department of Iowa has resumed publication of the *Annals of Iowa* with a number dated April, 1920, the principal feature of which is a document of very considerable importance to Minnesota history. It is "Major William Williams' Journal of a Trip to Iowa in 1849." The title is somewhat of a misnomer, for the trip extended to Marine Mills on the St. Croix and to the Falls of St. Anthony on the Mississippi. Williams traveled on the "Dr. Franklin" and recorded day by day his impressions of the country, the Indian villages, the embryo settlements, economic conditions, and the "people pushing up for the new territory." Of special interest are the somewhat detailed descriptions of Stillwater, St. Paul, and Mendota. The journal adds materially to the available information about Minnesota in the year in which it became a separate territory.

The *Palimpsest* is the title of a little monthly magazine recently started by the State Historical Society of Iowa, the purpose of

which is to present bits of Iowa history in popular form, "as we would write romance—with life, action, and color—that the story of this land and its people may live." The second issue, for August, contains an article by the editor, John C. Parish, entitled "Three Men and a Press," which is of special Minnesota interest because the press referred to is the one on which the first paper in Minnesota was printed. The article recounts the history of this press in Iowa, where it was used to print the *Dubuque Visitor,* the first paper in that territory; tells of its removal to Lancaster, Wisconsin, and to St. Paul; and then gives the two versions of its subsequent history (see *ante,* pp. 292–294) without attempting to decide between them. Two minor errors in the article should be noted. Editor Goodhue's initials were J. M., not "J. N."; and he brought the press to St. Paul, not "by ox team up the Mississippi on the ice," but by steamboat. In the first issue of the *Pioneer,* for April 28, 1849, the editor says: "But little more than one week ago, we landed at St. Paul, amidst a crowd of strangers, with the first printing press that has ever rested on the soil of Minnesota." The first steamer of that season arrived at St. Paul on the ninth of April.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has announced the acquisition of the papers of General Jeremiah M. Rusk, who played a prominent part in Wisconsin and national politics from 1871 to 1893, being successively congressman, governor of the state, and the first secretary of the national department of agriculture. "The Rusk papers," says the announcement, "will do much to put the layman in touch with the spirit of politics as it was in the eighties and nineties of the last century, and they will enable historical students to do justice to a distinguished state leader of the generation immediately preceding our own."

An account of the plans of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the intensive cultivation of local history is published in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September. The article is by Joseph Schafer, the new superintendent of the society.

The Fergus County (Montana) High School has published, as the second of its *Bulletins,* a pamphlet entitled *Geography and*

Geology of Fergus County, by B. O. Freeman (Lewiston, Montana, 1919. 71 p.). It contains considerable material of local history interest, including a chapter on the origin of geographic names in the county. Announcement is made that other bulletins, including one on the "History and Civics of Fergus County" are planned for the future and that it is hoped to make the high school "a clearing house of accurate information about the county." The example set by this series should be followed by other schools, for such activities not only furnish valuable information to the community but also offer an outlet for the energies of high school teachers who desire to engage in research and make contributions to knowledge.

The *Manitoba Free Press* of Winnipeg for July 15, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the province, contains a "Special Supplement" of twenty-two pages, which "aims to give to its readers some approximate idea of the growth and development of the Province of Manitoba since it came into corporate existence on July 15, 1870." The varied phases of social and industrial activity in the province, their development and present state, are discussed in a series of twenty-one articles written by the members of the editorial staff of the *Free Press.* The opening article presents in chronological sequence the main events in the history of Manitoba "from Hudson the discoverer to Confederation Day"; succeeding narratives treat of the economic, political, spiritual, and cultural progress of the province and of its chief city, Winnipeg. The July 16 issue of the *Free Press* includes an addition to the previous record in an eight-page history of athletics. Each of the articles is appropriately illustrated with pioneer and modern views and with portraits of prominent men. The two sections constitute a remarkably satisfactory account of the growth of Manitoba from a frontier fur-trading region to a prosperous district of peaceful farms and busy cities. Few newspapers of the continent have mustered an editorial force capable of producing so excellent a series of articles; the fact that Manitoba can boast of such a newspaper is in itself an evidence of the rapid progress of the province.

The centennial of the laying of the corner store of old Fort Snelling, on September 10, 1820, was celebrated by a series of meetings under the auspices of the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers' Association. With the exception of the final meeting at Fort Snelling on Sunday, September 12, the sessions were held in the Pioneer Portrait Hall on the state fair grounds during the week of the fair. The programs consisted of reunions, addresses, reminiscent papers, and music. Among the papers was one entitled "Early Home Life at Fort Snelling," by Warren Upham, which is published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 12. A *Centennial History of Fort Snelling, 1820–1920,* published by the post exchange of the Forty-ninth Infantry, located at the fort, as a souvenir of the celebration, consists of twenty pages of text and illustrations, and sixty pages of advertisements. Most of the text is reprinted from articles in the "Centennial Memorial" number of the *Reveille,* published in 1919, which in turn are taken bodily from Marcus L. Hansen's *Old Fort Snelling* (see *ante,* 2:569; 3:161). Brief illustrated articles on the history of the fort are published in the *St. Paul Daily News* for August 29 and the *Minneapolis Tribune* for September 5.

The growing interest in local history has manifested itself in a number of historical pageants presented in various communities of Minnesota and neighboring states during the summer. One of these was staged at Red Wing as part of the "Home-Coming" festivities of August 5 and 6. To quote an announcement in the published program, it aimed "to visualize in outline the story of this locality." In Duluth a pageant commemorating the "golden jubilee" of the incorporation of the city and depicting the history of the region during more than two hundred years was presented on August 18, 19, 20, and 21, in connection with the state convention of the American Legion. The history of that part of northwestern Wisconsin which borders on Chequamegon Bay was reviewed in a similar manner at Ashland on August 26 and 27. Other pageants were presented at St. Cloud, Detroit, and Marshall; and at Rice Lake, Wisconsin; Sioux Falls, South Dakota; and Le Mars, Iowa.

Forty members of the Pioneer Rivermen's Association exchanged tales of their river experiences at a picnic at Minnehaha Falls on July 31. The gathering was held in honor of Captain E. E. Heerman of Devil's Lake, North Dakota. An account of the picnic in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 1 is accompanied by a picture of a group of steamers at Read's Landing in 1872 and by portraits of three pilots of upper Mississippi River fame—Captain Heerman, Captain John Trudo of Wabasha, and Captain Joseph Gardepi of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. The *Minneapolis Journal,* in its issue for August 1, also describes the festivities of the pioneer rivermen and publishes some of their reminiscences and a photograph of a group of men who attended the picnic.

A novel piece of historical field work was done during the past summer by Mr. Arthur T. Adams, a Minneapolis high school teacher, by means of an automobile trip through the Minnesota River Valley and the region of the Sioux Outbreak of 1862. Mr. Adams visited the principal towns which were attacked by the Indians and the sites of Fort Ridgely, the upper and lower Sioux agencies, the battle of Wood Lake, and Camp Release; he interviewed old settlers and obtained some interesting reminiscences of the massacre; and he took more than a hundred photographs of sites and scenes of the outbreak and of monuments which have been erected to commemorate that event.

An incoherent and inaccurate account of the discovery and subsequent study of the Kensington rune stone appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 28 under the heading "Is the Runestone Mystery Solved?" The unearthing of thirteen skulls and other bones at Barrett is presented as additional evidence for the authenticity of the stone, since here, it is suggested, might be the remains of the Norsemen who, according to the inscription on the stone, were killed by Indians.

"Au Lac Winnipeg, 1734," by Benjamin Sulte, in the *Bulletin* of the Geographical Society of Quebec for May-August, 1920, treats of the explorations of La Vérendrye along the northern border of Minnesota.

An article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 15 reminds the reader that "August 18 marks anniversary of Sioux Massacre." The causes and chief events of the Indian outbreak are treated; the extent of the casualties, especially in Renville County, is noted; and the means used to punish the Indians are stated. Although the date of the outbreak is given incorrectly in the heading, a statement that "the first killing occurred on the 17th . . . at the Acton settlement" appears in the article. The illustrations consist of pictures of old Fort Ridgely and the site of the Redwood ferry, and of portraits of Henry H. Sibley and Little Crow.

The *Brown County Journal* of New Ulm for August 21 commemorates the attack on New Ulm in a lengthy article on the causes, main events, and consequences of the Sioux Outbreak.

The first installment of "The Letters of Chauncey H. Cooke," which is published in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September, is an important addition to the sources of Minnesota history. Cooke, whose home was in Buffalo County, Wisconsin, enlisted in Company G of the Twenty-fifth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry in September, 1862, when he was only sixteen years old. Soon after his regiment was sent to Minnesota to take part in General Pope's campaign against the Sioux. After a short stop at Fort Snelling, part of the regiment, including Company G, was sent north to keep the Chippewa in order; and the boy spent about two months in the vicinities of St. Cloud and New Richmond. The most interesting features of the letters are the information which they contain about camp life and frontier conditions and the comments of the writer on the Indian situation. Influenced by his acquaintance with Indians in Wisconsin and by Bishop Whipple's *Dakota Friend,* he reached the conclusion that the blame for the Sioux Outbreak should rest not on the Indians but on "the traders, the contractors, the trappers, and the Indian agents." This opinion was not shared by his comrades, however.

Water Birds of Minnesota, Past and Present (Minneapolis, 1919) is the title of a pamphlet by Dr. Thomas S. Roberts, the

curator of the zoölogical museum of the University of Minnesota, which has been published as a separate from the 1916–18 *Biennial Report* of the state game and fish commissioner of Minnesota. The first section, entitled "A Retrospect," is based in part on the narratives of explorers.

An article by Fred L. Holmes, entitled "A Modern Arrow-Maker," in the *American-Scandinavian Review* for August, is of interest to archeologists. Its subject is the revival, by Mr. Halvor L. Skavlem of Janesville, Wisconsin, of "the lost art of making stone implements, particularly arrowheads, in what he believes to be the identical fashion and with the identical tools that the aborigines of all time have employed."

Recent issues of the *Anthropological Papers* of the American Museum of Natural History contain three items relating to the Dakota Indians. "The Sun Dance of the Canadian Dakota," by W. D. Wallis, and "Notes on the Sun Dance of the Sisseton Dakota," by Alanson Skinner, are in volume 16, part 4; and "Anthropometry of the Siouan Tribes," by Louis R. Sullivan, comprises volume 23, part 3.

An article on "Past and Present Trade Routes to the Canadian Northwest," by Frederick J. Alcock, in the *Geographical Review* for August furnishes an excellent illustration of the influences of geography upon history. Not only the routes, but also the organizations, methods of operation, and means of transportation by which the Indians of the region have been supplied with white man's goods in exchange for furs for 250 years are dealt with in the article. Of special Minnesota interest is the account of the development of the trade between St. Paul and the Red River Valley and the influence of this trade upon western Canada. A picture of a "Red River cart brigade" is one of the many excellent photographs with which the article is illustrated.

The *St. Paul Daily News* for July 11 contains an article, in its magazine section, entitled "Last of the Diamond Jo Line." It notes the fact that packet and passenger service on the upper Mississippi River have been discontinued and tells something of the history of the famous line. A number of anecdotes about

Joseph Reynolds, the owner, are included; boats operating during given years are named; and the picturesque atmosphere of river travel is described. The illustrations consist of a portrait of "Diamond Jo" Reynolds, an early view of three boats at the Jackson Street dock in St. Paul, and a picture of a raft of logs on the river.

The story of "the first Minnesota locomotive," the William Crooks, from its initial trip from St. Paul to St. Anthony in July, 1862, to its final trip to the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition of Seattle in 1909 is told in the *St. Paul Daily News* for September 26. Pictures of the old locomotive, which is still preserved in a roundhouse in St. Paul, accompany the article.

In anticipation of the arrival in St. Paul on August 10, of the first aeroplane to bring mail from Chicago, the *St. Paul Daily News* devoted a section of its issue for August 8 to the subject of aviation. A number of the articles included therein contain information about the development in Minnesota of this most modern means of transportation.

A note on "Some Sources for Mississippi Valley Agricultural History," by Raymond G. Taylor, in the September number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* calls attention to the material on this subject contained in books by foreign observers and especially in those of James P. Caird and Finley Dun, two Scots who traveled in the United States in 1858 and 1879 respectively. Both of these men visited Minnesota and wrote about conditions in the state.

A valuable study of *The Origin and Development of the Minnesota Juvenile Court* has been published as a pamphlet by the Minnesota State Board of Control (1920. 20 p.). It consists of an "Address Before the Minnesota Association of Probate Judges, January 15, 1920," by Judge Edward F. Waite of Minneapolis.

With the accomplishment of the purpose for which they were organized, the associations in Minnesota which have worked for the enfranchisement of women have passed off the stage. The history of these organizations and of the movement which gave

rise to them is reviewed in two articles in the issues of the *Minneapolis Journal* for September 5 and 12. The first article is a valuable account of the equal suffrage movement in the state from 1847, when Harriet E. Bishop, "the first woman in Minnesota to do any special work for woman suffrage," came to St. Paul, to 1920. The steps by which the civil status of the women of the state has been advanced are reflected in a list, with brief accounts, of the bills relating to the subject which have come before the legislature during the past half century. Other important lists included are those of the charter members and successive presidents of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association. The second article consists merely of an account of the disbanding of the Minneapolis Political Equality Club and a brief résumé of its work.

The "progress made during the past 20 years" by the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs is described in the *St. Paul Daily News* for August 29. The article consists chiefly of a paper read by Mrs. G. S. Chesterman of Crookston at the 1920 meeting of the organization at Warren.

A history of the *Minneapolis Tribune* is published in the issue of that paper for July 11 under the heading, "A Daily Diary of Happenings Since City Was Founded, 1867." Two periods in the advancement and growth of the paper are treated—the first from 1867 to 1891, characterized by frequent change; the second, dominated by the personality and policy of a single man, William J. Murphy, who purchased the paper in 1891 and, after 1893, was its sole owner to his death in 1918.

A brief article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for July 4 notes the passing of the "town home, built by Colonel William S. King in the early seventies on Nicollet Island," Minneapolis. A picture of the house and portraits of Colonel and Mrs. King accompany the article.

"Memories of 60 Years in Minneapolis Recounted by Charles Loring, 87" is the title of an interview in the *Minneapolis Journal* for September 16. Mr. Loring recalls the humble beginnings in Minneapolis of a number of public utilities, such as electric

lights and the telegraph, and tells something of the origin of the city's park system. Early incidents connected with the planting and destruction of trees in that city are also related by Mr. Loring in an appeal for the preservation of trees published in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of September 19.

Mr. A. O. Hoyt, who served for two years as a conductor on the "first power-driven street cars used in Minneapolis," tells some incidents connected with the early years of the line built by Colonel William McCrory in 1879, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 8. Mr. Hoyt also describes the route, which at first reached only to Lake Calhoun but was later extended to Lake Harriet and then to Excelsior on Lake Minnetonka; he explains that the cars were propelled by means of steam motors; and he notes the "first attempt to run electric cars in Minneapolis." A picture of the cars used on Colonel McCrory's line is published with the article.

An article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 1, entitled "Where Are the Gates Mansions of Yesteryear?" calls attention to the present dilapidated condition of what was the fashionable residence district of Minneapolis fifty years ago. A number of the once stately homes of prominent families, now used as lodging houses or storehouses, are described, and incidents about their former occupants are related. The illustrations consist of recent pictures of these formerly handsome residences.

Pioneer St. Paul institutions and their growth have been occupying the attention recently of Benjamin Backnumber in some of his recollections about "St. Paul Before This," in the Sunday issues of the *St. Paul Daily News*. In his article for August 15 he describes the "box of pigeonholes which was used in the first post-office" in St. Paul, now in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, and notes the stages in the expansion of the post office; on August 1 he depicts "The Saint's First Hotel," a log structure erected in 1847 on the site of the present Merchant's Hotel. Interesting accounts of the "First Independence Day Celebration" and of the "First Amusement Halls" and notable attractions which appeared in them are the

contributions for July 4 and September 19, and that for September 5 gives a brief history of the city's fire department. Other articles of interest deal with the difficulties encountered by pioneer journalists in obtaining eastern news, August 22, and with Indian legends about and stories of early settlement at White Bear Lake, August 29.

The stages in the growth of the business of Michaud Brothers, retail grocers of St. Paul during fifty years, are noted in a series of articles which appear in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for September 18 and in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 20. Portraits of two of the founders of the business, Charles and Achille Michaud, are included among the illustrations.

The "20th Annual Commercial Industrial and Financial Edition" of the *St. Paul Daily News,* published August 29, contains several articles of historical interest. One deals with the growth of St. Paul from a "trading post city" to a "famed national market"; another shows the importance of the city as a "fur manufacturing center for more than half a century."

The services on September 19 at the Trinity Lutheran Church of St. Paul commemorated the sixty-fifth anniversary of its organization. An account of the program for the celebration with a brief history of the church appear in the *St. Paul Daily News* for September 19.

The first Fourth of July celebration in Faribault, that held in 1856, is the subject of an interesting article in the *Faribault Daily News* for July 2. It is based upon the manuscript minutes of the meeting at which the celebration was planned, found among the papers of Dr. Nathan M. Bemis and now in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Henry C. Prescott of Faribault, and upon the reminiscences of Mrs. Prescott. The minutes, which are printed with the article, include the names of persons who were appointed to serve on committees and of those who were invited to participate in the program.

The *Western Magazine* for August contains sketches of four Minnesota cities, St. Paul, Minneapolis, South St. Paul, and

Rochester. The sketch of St. Paul includes the story of how that city was named and a reproduction of the painting, in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, of Father Galtier's Chapel of St. Paul. A brief outline of the origin and growth of Rochester forms a part of the article on that city, and one of the accompanying illustrations is a photograph of a busy street scene of pioneer days, when ox teams were the chief means of transportation.

The *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* for September 24 contains a brief but interesting sketch of the early history of Martin County. It is followed by a series of news items from copies of the *Sentinel* issued during the early seventies.

"Proposed Mississippi Park Rich in Historic Interest" is the title of an article dealing with the plans for a national park around McGregor, Iowa, and Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and with the history of the region under consideration, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for July 18. Romantic incidents in the annals of Prairie du Chien make up the greater part of the narrative. The article is illustrated with photographs of scenes in the proposed park.

War History Activities

Among gratifying acknowledgements of the purposes of the Minnesota War Records Commission, none has given more encouragement than a resolution adopted at the annual convention of the Minnesota department of the American Legion, held at Duluth, August 16-18. The resolution expresses the feeling of the service men that a complete and official roster of all Minnesota men and women who served in the World War and a narrative history of Minnesota's part in the war should be prepared and published without unnecessary delay, and it concludes with an urgent appeal to the legislature to grant the commission funds sufficient for that purpose. Attention is called to the fact that though established to do this work the commission has hitherto found it possible only to collect material, and that, too, on a scale altogether incommensurate with the needs of the situation. Chief

emphasis is properly laid upon the necessity for immediate action. With each year memories fade, experiences grow less vivid, and valuable material becomes scattered. If Minnesota is to show an appreciation of her part in the struggle equal to that of other states, she must realize her present opportunity.

No branch of the work of the Minnesota War Records Commission holds more intimate appeal than that of the collection of material on Minnesota's "Gold Stars." More than three thousand Minnesota boys heard "taps" in camps and on foreign fields. Relatives of more than two thousand of these have been written to, and something over six hundred records have been completed. Citizens in all parts of the state will be appealed to for help in this work of locating and canvassing families of deceased soldiers in order that Minnesota's "Gold Star Roll" may be as accurate and as complete as possible.

The commission's thousands of records of living service men are now approaching a state of order long striven for as a necessary preliminary to the completion of the collection. Grouped in the first instance by counties, the records from fifty-eight of the eighty-six counties have been arranged in alphabetical order, and lists of the names and addresses of men from fourteen of these counties have been compiled for the use of the commission's local collaborators. Owing to the immense amount of work entailed the commission is obliged to limit the issuance of such lists to those committees or other local agencies which may be expected to make effective use of them.

A card record of casualties among Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana service men, compiled by the Red Cross on the basis of the daily official bulletins issued by the government during and immediately following the World War, has been deposited with the commission through the instrumentality of Mr. David H. Holbrook, assistant manager of the northern division of the American Red Cross in Minneapolis. While it is recognized that the data here given is not final in every instance, the record will be of value, at least as a working basis, to the war records agencies of the states covered.

From the north central field committee of the Young Women's Christian Association the commission has received files of original records covering the war activities of that organization from November, 1917, through the period of coöperation with the Young Men's Christian Association and other agencies in the United War Work Campaign. The correspondence between leaders in this and allied activities included in the files gives a definite view of the work planned and accomplished. The attempt of this strictly women's organization to assume its share in the direction of the combined drive is one of the interesting presentations in the reports that make up part of the files.

The state headquarters file of official records of the work of the Minnesota branch of the United States Employment Service during the war have been deposited with the commission for safe-keeping along with similar files received earlier, as already noted here (p. 322), from the branch offices of the service at Bemidji, St. Cloud, Mankato, and Albert Lea.

The field agent of the commission brings an encouraging report of the work of the St. Louis County branch. Exceptionally whole-hearted support appears to have been accorded by the board of county commissioners, which has granted funds to the extent authorized by law, has provided office space in the new courthouse at Duluth, and has generally stood back of the committee in all its efforts. Through the medium of a county-wide organization based on commissioners' districts, through the coöperation of the American Legion and other auxiliary agencies, and through the wide publicity given by its newspaper friends, the committee has made beginnings which have yielded, and give promise of continuing to yield, substantial results. Over nine thousand service records have been compiled and filed in the local archives, together with a number of soldiers' photographs and personal narratives. Direct appeals have been made to representatives of all local war agencies for contributions to the narrative portion of the community's war records, and not without results. An intensive campaign for material and for funds needed to continue the work will be staged in the near future, with the field agent of the state commission on the ground

and assisting. Special efforts will be made at that time to complete the county's "Gold Star Roll" and to encourage the production of historical narratives covering all phases of community effort, and especially the more distinctive phases such as the war record of the county's foreign element and the war-time history of the lumbering, shipping, shipbuilding, and mining industries of that region. While all this is planned with publication as the ultimate object, no attempt will be made to anticipate a satisfactory completion of the work of collection. The Honorable William E. Culkin of Duluth, chairman of the committee, regards the work as one which should have a wide appeal throughout the county and the state at large, and he is prepared to devote much of his time to it through as many months or years as may be necessary to its accomplishment.

Substantial progress has been made by the Ramsey County War Records Commission in the preparation of a roster and history of St. Paul and Ramsey County in the World War. A roster comprising the names of over twelve thousand local service men has been compiled on the basis of service records on file with the state commission, and every effort is being made to discover and supply the omissions, roughly estimated at a few hundreds. In addition to names the roster supplies condensed information as to dates of entry and discharge, rank, unit, oversea service, battles, casualties, and honors. Preliminary work on the war history of the community as a whole includes a survey, now nearly completed, of local newspapers and publications of the war period. The collection of reports, official records, and contributed articles on the various phases of the subject proceeds, though more slowly. An encouraging feature of this work is the coöperation promised by a group of Hamline women who have organized for an intensive canvass of the Hamline district under the leadership of Mrs. Charles N. Akers. From this and any other local organizations or individuals, the commission is most anxious to receive anything in the way of letters, diaries, narratives of personal experiences, or accounts of community efforts which would help to give substance and color to an otherwise pithless recital of the commonplaces of the war experiences of the people of Ramsey County.

Some of the possibilities in a study of a group of service records in the mass may be indicated by various provisional analyses already made of the records for St. Paul—analyses the results of which were reported in detail in the *Pioneer Press* for August 22 and September 19 and the *Daily News* for August 22. Commissioned officers thus far recorded number 893. Of these, 793 were in the army, 59 in the navy, 23 in the coast artillery, 15 in the marines, and 3 in the Canadian army; all ranks are represented from second lieutenant to colonel in the army and from ensign to lieutenant commander in the navy. At least eighty-nine local service men were specially honored, many of them having won the Distinguished Service Cross or the Croix de Guerre. It is interesting to note that five members of this group of specially honored defenders of American ideals are men of foreign birth, and that in the cases of thirty-eight others, one or both parents came from other countries, including Germany.

A record of the achievements of Ramsey County men and units in protecting the health and lives of the fighting men in training camps and in camps and hospitals behind the lines overseas, which is to be used in the history of St. Paul and Ramsey County in the World War, is being compiled by Major Willmar C. Rutherford, who served as director of field hospitals with the 109th Sanitary Train, 34th Division.

Through the kindness of Mr. Harold S. Johnson of St. Paul, who served as a lieutenant in the 151st United States Field Artillery, a copy of the *Roster of the Rainbow Division* compiled and edited by him (New York, 1917. 543 p.) is now among the permanent records of Minesota's part in the war. The long list of names and addresses here given is full of interest and capturing to the imagination as one visualizes the unusual personnel of this organization. Twenty-six states were represented in the division, and only those units were selected for it which had already shown marked ability, the majority having seen service in the Spanish-American War or upon the Mexican border. For Minnesotans the chief interest of the book lies, naturally, in the roster of the 151st United States Field Artillery, formerly the First Minnesota Field Artillery.

September 23 saw the launching in Minneapolis of a weekly publication known as the *Hennepin County Legionnaire,* official organ of the American Legion posts of that county. It is a non-political, eight-page newspaper filled with items of interest to former service men and particularly with news of the doings of the local posts.

The Knights of Columbus in Peace and War, by Maurice F. Egan and John B. Kennedy (New Haven, Connecticut, 1920. 2 vols., 403, 405 p.) is a diversely interesting book, which chronicles the emergence of a society from comparative obscurity to a large place in a tremendous crisis. The first chapters of the book recount the beginnings of the order and describe its relief work in time of peace. Subsequent chapters tell how, when the call came to American manhood to take its part in the great conflict, the red cross of Malta appeared over religious headquarters and recreational centers in England and Belgium, in France and Italy and Siberian wastes, and later in the camps of the Army of Occupation in Germany. The reconstruction program of the organization, which ranged through all forms of service from locating lost baggage to finding a job for the returning soldier, is also discussed. Volume 2 contains the "Knights of Columbus Honor Roll," a section of which is devoted to Minnesota names (pp. 172-180). The illustrations are numerous and evocative of the scenes represented.

Soldiers of the Church, by John W. Pritchard, editor of the *Christian Nation* (New York, 1919. 190 p.) tells "The Story of What the Reformed Presbyterians (Covenanters) of North America, Canada, and the British Isles, Did to Win the World War of 1914–1918." The book contains a roster of American Covenanters in the war, lists of casualties and honors, accounts of various women's activities, and a discussion of the church's attitude toward the civil government and toward participation in the war. The roster contains the names of two Minnesota boys.

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TO THE

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ERRATA

Page 30, line 33, for *at that time,* read *previously.*
—— 31, line 14, for *Dr. Stephen S. Walker,* read *Dr. Stephen S. Visher.*
—— 96, line 9, for *Mr. Arthur Courtney,* read *Mr. Fred L. Chapman.*
—— 102, line 34, for *ch. 228,* read *ch. 288.*
—— 145, line 4, for *Abbey,* read *Abby.*
—— 150, line 28, for *Charles M. Ramsdell,* read *Charles W. Ramsdell.*
—— 158, line 15, for *ch. 228,* read *ch. 288.*
—— 226, line 2, for *Fiske,* read *Fisk.*
—— 314, line 22, for *2:399,* read *1:399.*
—— 371, line 9, for *land grants,* read *land patents.*
—— 372, line 19, for *Jesserand,* read *Jusserand.*
—— 428, line 22, for *Iowa,* read *Ohio.*
—— 472, line 1, for *Hugh,* read *Samuel.*